



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

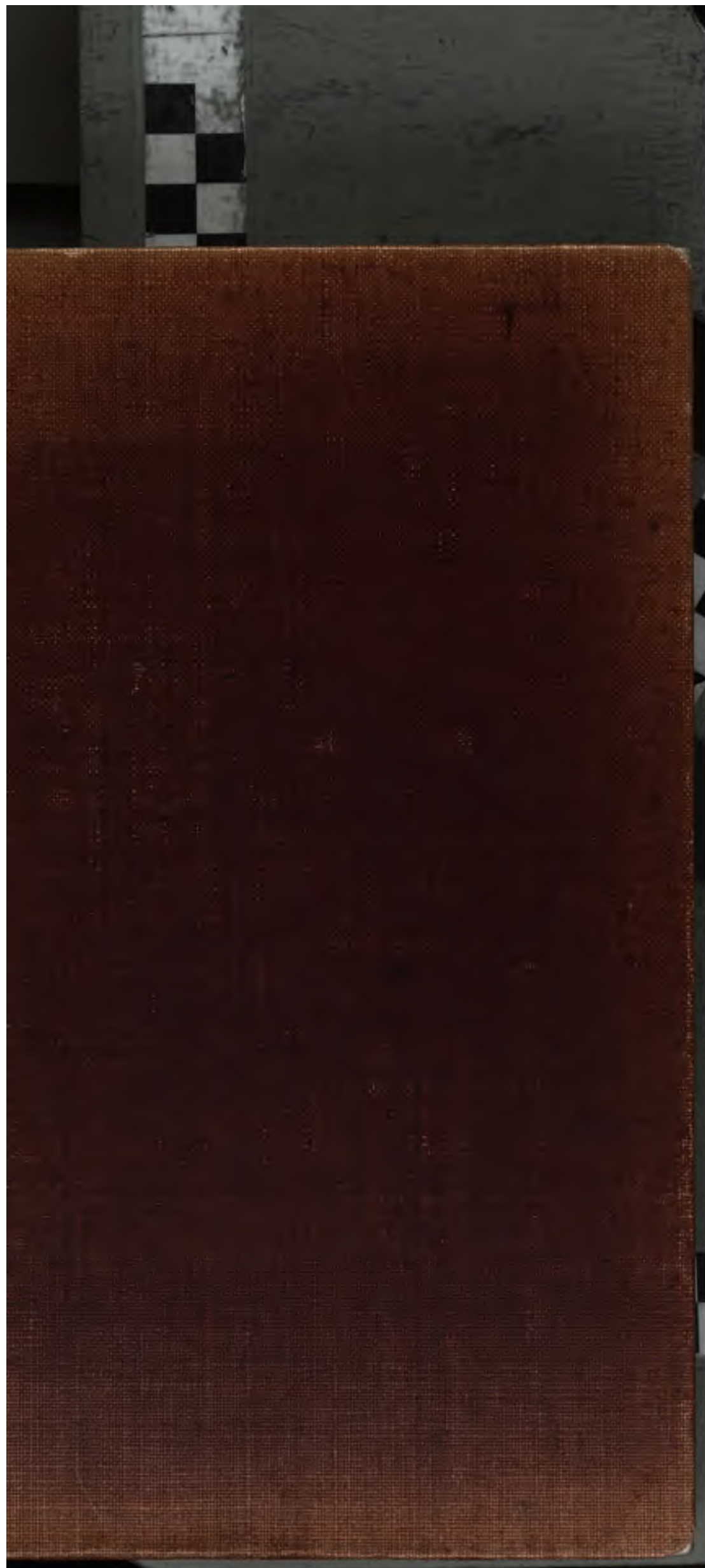
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>













**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS**

**IN**

# **CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY**

**VOLUME 1**

**EDWARD BULL CLAPP  
WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MERRILL  
HERBERT CHESTER NUTTING  
EDITORS**



**BERKELEY  
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
1904-08**



Cited as Univ. Calif. Publ. Class. Phil.

120226

Y9A90U  
X0B0U.000B4T20A.U  
YT1234V8U

## CONTENTS.

- NUMBER 1.—Hiatus in Greek Melic Poetry, by Edward Bull Clapp. Pages 1-34.
- NUMBER 2.—Studies in the Si-Clause. I. Concessive Si-Clauses in Plautus. II. Subjunctive Protasis and Indicative Apodosis in Plautus. By Herbert C. Nutting. Pages 35-94.
- NUMBER 3.—The Whence and Whither of the Modern Science of Language, by Benj. Ide Wheeler. Pages 95-109.
- NUMBER 4.—On the Relation of Horace to Lucretius, by William A. Merrill. Pages 111-129.
- NUMBER 5.—The Priests of Asklepios, a New Method of Dating Athenian Archons, by William Scott Ferguson. Pages 131-173.
- NUMBER 6.—Horace's Alcaic Strophe, by Leon Josiah Richardson. Pages 175-201.
- NUMBER 7.—Some Phases of the Relation of Thought to Verse in Plautus, by Henry Washington Prescott. Pages 205-262.
- INDEX.—Pages 263-270.



## HIATUS IN GREEK MELIC POETRY

BY

EDWARD B. CLAPP

It is the prevailing usage of older Greek poetry to elide most short vowels, and to shorten most long vowels or diphthongs<sup>1</sup>, when they occur at the end of words and are followed immediately, in the same verse, by words beginning with a vowel. The neglect to elide or to shorten, under such circumstances, constitutes hiatus. But in defining the scope of the present investigation the term hiatus is loosely used to include all cases where, in the ordinary modern texts, a word ending with a vowel is followed in the same verse by a word beginning with a vowel, no matter what the explanation of the phenomenon may be.

Hiatus in Homer has been made the subject of exhaustive study by Knös,<sup>2</sup> Hartel,<sup>3</sup> and Grulich,<sup>4</sup> and the essential features of Homeric usage are well known to scholars. Hiatus in Pindar has been touched upon by Hermann<sup>5</sup> and Boeckh,<sup>6</sup> and the various editors, and Hartel<sup>7</sup> gives some statistics. The observations of Tycho Mommsen in his Supplement<sup>8</sup> are still worth reading, but the fullest collections for Pindar are found in August Heimer's *Studia Pindarica*,<sup>9</sup> which is specially valuable for its careful study of the digamma in Pindar.<sup>10</sup> Schöne's *De Dialecto Bacchylidea*<sup>11</sup> is useful for Bacchylides, and the traces

<sup>1</sup> But only α, ε and ο, are elided with complete freedom, and on the other hand αι is often elided, and sometimes even αι. <sup>2</sup> *De Digamma Homeric* 1, 35 ff. <sup>3</sup> *Hom. Stud.* 2 and 3. <sup>4</sup> *De Quodam Hiatus Genere*, Halle 1876. <sup>5</sup> *Opusc.* 1, 247 ff. <sup>6</sup> In his edition 1, 2, 101 ff. <sup>7</sup> *Hom. Stud.* 3, 8 ff. <sup>8</sup> p. 165 ff. <sup>9</sup> Lund, 1884. <sup>10</sup> The present investigation is based on the much improved text of Schroeder, and is independent of Heimer's, though the latter's results, wherever they cover the same ground as mine, have been compared, to insure completeness. In regard to the digamma, in particular, I have been able to add but little, besides a few new references, to what is offered by Heimer. <sup>11</sup> *Leipziger Studien* 19, 181 ff.

of the digamma in Aleman, Alcaeus, and Sappho, have been critically treated by Clemm,<sup>1</sup> and more recently by Solmsen.<sup>2</sup>

In citing the odes and fragments of Pindar I have followed the numbering, and usually the text, of Schroeder. For Bacchylides, including the fragments, I have usually followed the text of Kenyon, for the Melic Fragments that of Hiller-Crusius, and for Timotheus, that of Wilamowitz.

It should be noted, at the outset, that hiatus is far less frequent in Pindar and the other melic poets than in Homer. If we take as a basis of comparison the last six books of the Iliad, which are approximately equal in extent to the surviving odes and fragments of Pindar, we find no less than 2000 instances of real or apparent hiatus in the Homeric books, while in Pindar the number is less than 400. In Attic tragedy, on the other hand, hiatus scarcely exists at all,<sup>3</sup> so that the melic poets occupy a middle ground between the freedom of Homeric poetry and the careful finish of Euripides. Certain facts as to the nature and circumstances of this difference, in detail, will appear in the course of the discussion, but a general view may be obtained from the following table, which shows the progressive disappearance of hiatus, from Homer to the tragedians, on the basis of number of instances which are found, on the average, in 100 consecutive verses.

IN 100 VERSES OF	HOMER <sup>4</sup>	MELIC POETS	TRAGEDY <sup>5</sup>
Effect of obsolete consonant.....	11	2.5	0
After long vowel or diphthong shortened.....	30	5	1
After long vowel or diphthong retained.....	5	1	0
All other instances of hiatus.....	5	0.5	1 [?]
TOTAL.....	51	9	2

It will be seen from the table that hiatus of every kind, apparent, permissible, and illicit, is frequent in Homer, while it is

<sup>1</sup> In Curtius, Studien, 9, 443 ff. <sup>2</sup> Griech. Laut- und Verslehre 137 ff. <sup>3</sup> But see Kühner-Blass, vol. I, p. 196 f. <sup>4</sup> Based on my own count in T-Ω. <sup>5</sup> The figures for tragedy are only approximate. See on page 14. Most cases of hiatus appear in anapaests or choral passages.

comparatively rare in the melic poets, and practically disappears in tragedy. In discussing hiatus in the melic poets, we shall consider, first, the cases of apparent hiatus, next the cases of hiatus after a long vowel or diphthong, and finally those which occur after a short vowel.

### I.—Apparent Hiatus.

More than one-fifth of all the instances of hiatus in Homer are only "apparent," or due to the influence of an obsolete consonant.<sup>1</sup> Gottfried Hermann denied<sup>2</sup> the existence of this phenomenon in Pindar, but few scholars would now agree with the great master in this opinion. The pronoun *οἷ*, *οἱ*, *ἐ* occurs 58 times in Pindar, and 19 times in the other melic poets. In 75 places out of the 77 the influence of the digamma is the only satisfactory explanation of hiatus, or of the lengthening of a syllable consisting of a short vowel followed by a single consonant at the end of the preceding word. One case proves nothing, either for or against the digamma, and Corinna 3 (*ἀπ' ἐῶς*), the only instance of neglect of the digamma, is probably corrupt.<sup>3</sup> In view of the fact that illicit hiatus is not, in general, of frequent occurrence in these poets, and that, if we admit the influence of the digamma in places where the evidence is fairly conclusive, the residuum of unexplained cases of hiatus becomes almost a vanishing quantity, we can hardly doubt that this consonant was felt by the melic writers.

The following list includes the digammated words in Pindar, with the places in which the influence of the digamma is felt. Most of these are cases of hiatus, but in a few, marked by an asterisk, the consonant helps to make position.

<sup>1</sup> 431 cases in T-Ω, or one in every nine verses.

<sup>2</sup> Opusc., I. 247.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 12. So closely, in fact, is the digamma bound to this pronoun that the latter seems scarcely able to live without it. In Attic, where the digamma is entirely lost, the pronoun itself leads but a precarious existence. On the digamma in this word, see the discussion by Dryoff, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 32, 87 ff.

## DIGAMMATED WORDS IN PINDAR.

		DIGAMMA FELT	DIGAMMA IGNORED
ἄναξ, ἀνάσσω	O. 13. 24; P. 4. 89; 9, 44; 11, 62; 12, 3; I. 8. 33.*	6	10
ἀδύς, ἀνδάνω	P. 1. 29; 6. 51; I. 4. 15; 8, 18.	4	15
ἀχώ	O. 14. 19. (cf. <i>ῥᾶχυν</i> on a Corinthian amphora, Collitz 3139, and on a Chalcidic vase, Kretschmer 67. n. 10).	1	0
εἴκοσι	N. 6. 58 <sup>b</sup> .	1	0
ἔκατι	O. 14. 18; I. 5. 2.	2	3
ἐλπίς, ἐλπίζω	O. 1. 109; 13. 83; P. 2. 49; I. 2. 43; Fr. 61. 1.	5	6
ἔπος, εἶπον	O. 6. 16; 8. 46; 13. 71; 13. 98 (emendation); P. 2. 66; 3. 2; N. 5. 14; 6. 27; 6. 65 (emendation)*; 7. 48; I. 4. 41; 6. 55.	12	28
ἔοικα	P. 3. 59.	1	8
ἐρέω	P. 4. 142; Fr. 42. 2.	2	4
ἐργ-, ἔρδω	O. 10. 91; 13. 38; P. 2. 17 <sup>b</sup> ; 4. 104; 7. 20; N. 3. 44; 5. 1; 7. 52; 10. 64; Fr. 155. 1.	10	35
ἐσθάς	P. 4. 253 (emendation).*	1	1
ἐσπέρα	I. 8. 44.	1	2
ἔτος	O. 2. 93; Fr. 133. 2.	2	1
ἦθος	O. 11. 20. (But see Herw. Lex. Suppl. et Dial.).	1	3
ιδ-, εἰδ-, οἰδ-	O. 1. 104; 2. 86; 8. 19; 9. 62; 14. 14; P. 3. 29; 4. 21; 5. 84; N. 4. 43; Fr. 168. 4.	10	25
ἴδιος	O. 13. 49 (cf. <i>ῥιδιος</i> often in Boeot. inscriptions, Meister l. 255).	1	0
ιοπλοκ-	O. 6. 30; I. 7. 23 (both emendations of Bergk, but now supported by Bacch. 9. 72).	2	1
ἴσος	N. 7. 5; 10. 86; 11. 41; I. 6. 32 (cf. <i>ῥισφος</i> in Leg. Gort. 10. 53).	4	3

DIGAMMATED WORDS IN PINDAR.—*Continued.*

		DIGAMMA FELT	DIGAMMA IGNORED
οὐ, οἶ, εἶ	O. 1. 23; 1. 65; 2. 42*; 6. 20; 6. 65; 7. 89; 7. 91; 9. 15; 9. 67; 10. 87; 13. 29; 13. 37; 13. 65; 13. 71; 13. 76; 13. 91; 14. 20; P. 1. 7; 2. 42; 2. 83; 3. 63; 4. 23; 4. 37; 4. 48; 4. 73; 4. 189; 4. 197; 4. 243; 4. 264; 4. 287; 5. 117; 9. 36; 9. 56; 9. 82; 9. 84; 9. 109; 9. 120; N. 1. 14; 1. 16 <sup>b</sup> ; 1. 58; 1. 61; 3.39; 3. 57; 4. 59; 5. 34; 6. 23; 7. 22; 7. 40; 10. 29; 10. 31; 10. 79; I. 4. 64; 5. 62; 6. 12; 6. 49; 8. 57; Fr. 214. 1.	57	0
ἴν	P. 4. 36 (emendation. Cf. <i>flv</i> in a Metapontine inscr. Collitz 1643, and <i>flv</i> αὐτῶ = εαυτῶ in Leg. Gort. 2. 40).	1	0
ὄς, ἐός	P. 6. 37; I. 4. 36.	2	12
οἶκ—	P. 7. 5; 8. 51; N. 6. 25.	3	28
TOTAL		129	185

It will be noticed that the cases where the digamma helps to make position are very few in number (4), in comparison with those in which it prevents hiatus (125). The neglect of the digamma, on the other hand, is seen most often in its failure to make position (133 times), less often in its failure to prevent elision (49 times). Twice crasis takes place at the beginning of a digammated word, and once a long vowel is shortened under similar circumstances.

To the words in the above list we may add several others, mostly proper names, which probably had the digamma, but in regard to which the evidence is not entirely conclusive. These are:

1. Ἴωλος. This occurs twice in Homer, both times with the digamma possible but not required.<sup>1</sup> In Pindar it appears five times:

<sup>1</sup> In λ 256, at verse-end, εὐρυχόρῳ Ἴωλκῶ. In B 712 εὐκτιμένην Ἴωλκόν.



P. 4. 77	κλειτᾶς Ἰωλκοῦ	neutral.
P. 4. 188	ἐς δὲ Ἰωλκόν <sup>1</sup>	f required.
N. 3. 34	ὅς καὶ Ἰωλκόν <sup>2</sup> (— — — —)	f required.
N. 4. 54	λατρίαν Ἰαωλκόν	neutral.
I. 8. 40	codd. φασὶν ἰαωλκοῦ, but — — — — is required, and φασὶν (for φαντί) is un-Pindaric. Most edd. adopt the cj. of Bothe φάτις Ἰωλκοῦ (Schroeder Ἰαολκοῦ) which does not admit f. The etymology of the word is uncertain, but Schroeder suggests the root <i>svēlk</i> (sulcus).	

2. Ἰόλαος. This word does not appear in Homer. In Pindar it occurs seven times:

O. 9. 98	αὐτῷ Ἰολάου (— — — —)	f probable.
P. 9. 79	ποτὲ καὶ Ἰόλαον (— — — —)	f probable.
P. 11. 60	διαφέρει Ἰόλαον (— — — —)	f probable.
N. 3. 37	Τελαμῶν Ἰόλα	neutral.
I. 1. 16	ῆ Ἰολάου (— — — —)	f probable.
I. 5. 32	ἱπποσόας Ἰόλαος	neutral.
I. 7. 9	ῆ ἀμφ' Ἰόλαον	f impossible.

Heimer calls attention to the fact that in a Boeotian name, like this, the digamma would be likely to survive longer than in other dialects. For Corinthian, we may add, the digamma is proved by *φιόλα* Collitz 3133. For the derivation of the word cf. *φιόπλοκος* (see above, p. 4).

3. Ἰσθμός. This word is of uncertain origin. Curtius<sup>3</sup> connected it with — ι — to go. It does not appear in Homer.<sup>4</sup> Ἰσθμός and its compounds occur 27 times in Pindar. In 18 places f is impossible, and six places are neutral. But the admission of f removes hiatus in three places:

I. 1. 9	ἀλιερκέα Ἰσθμοῦ.
I. 1. 32	Ποσειδάωνι Ἰσθμῷ (one of the two occurrences in Pindar of hiatus after — ι of the dative singular). <sup>5</sup>
Frag. 122. 10	λεξοῦντι Ἰσθμοῦ.
Cf. also,	
Bacch. 2. 7	αὐχένι Ἰσθμοῦ.

4. Ἰάλυσος. This word appears once in Homer, in B 656 *Λίνδον Ἰήλυσόν τε* (— — — —), where the digamma is impossible, as is the case, also in Timocreon 1. 7 *ἐς πατρίδ' Ἰάλυσον*.

<sup>1</sup> So Christ. Schroeder δ' Ἰαολκόν. <sup>2</sup> So Christ. Schroeder κίαολκόν. <sup>3</sup> Grundzüge 402. <sup>4</sup> But cf. *ισθμον* [necklace] at beginning of verse, σ 300. <sup>5</sup> See below (p. 7) on O. 9. 112.

But the marked hiatus in the single occurrence of the word in Pindar

O. 7. 74 τὲ Ἰάλυσον

points strongly in the opposite direction.<sup>1</sup>

5. Ἰδαῖος, Ἰδας. There is no evidence in Homer for the digamma in this name, and but one place in Pindar points to  $\varphi$ :

O. 5. 18 ῥέοντα Ἰδαῖον. Here — — — — is called for, so that the quantity, as well as the hiatus, indicates an error in the odd., the first syllable of Ἰδαῖον being long. But some odd. read ῥέοντ' Ἰδαῖον (so Schroeder), which avoids hiatus, and substitutes — — for — — —, a license which is perhaps admissible.

6. Ἰλας, Ἰλιάδας, Ἰλιον, Ἰλος. In Homer, Ἰλιος has  $\varphi$ , and Curtius<sup>2</sup> thought that the  $\sigma$  in Οἰλεύς was due to the same consonant. In Pindar but one passage supports the  $\varphi$ :

O. 9. 112 δαιτὶ Ἰλιάδα (see on I. 1. 32 above, p. 6).

7. In O. 5. 11 ποταμόν τε Ὀανον (*v.l.* Ὀανιν) we are confronted by an almost unknown proper name, possibly to be connected with the name of an oriental fish-god Ὀάννης, mentioned in a fragment (67) of the historian Apollodorus. Cf. Dagon. The hiatus has caused the digamma to be suspected (*φάρανος*, cf. the Cretan city Ὀαξος,<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* φάραξος). But certainty seems impossible, and the suggestion of Horn, τὸν Ὀανον, is probably the best solution of the difficulty.

8. In N. 5. 32 τοῦ δὲ ὄργαν κνίζον αἰπεινοὶ λόγῳ the digamma is probably to be restored. The word ὄργα does not appear in Homer,<sup>4</sup> but occurs nine times in Pindar. In five places  $\varphi$  is inadmissible, and once the word is at the beginning of a verse. But in I. 6. 14 (τοῖαισιν ὄργαῖς)  $\varphi$  may be restored by a very slight change (τοῖαισι φοργαῖς), and in P. 4. 141 θεμισσαμένους φοργάς may be read without any change. Beside these nine places there is the corrupt passage P. 6. 50, where the

<sup>1</sup>The quantity of the penult of Ἰάλυσος varies. In B 656 it is long. In Pind. O. 7. 74 it occurs in Doric rhythm where we should expect a long syllable, but where, in each of the other four epodes, a trochee takes the place of a spondee, making this  $\nu$  apparently short. In Timocreon 1. 7 it is probably long. Pape cites no poetical use of the word but O. 7. 74. Ovid (Met. 7. 365) scans it as short, and so many Latin and English dictionaries, as well as Harper's Classical Dictionary. <sup>2</sup>Grundzüge 574. <sup>3</sup>Heimer, p. 76. Curtius, Grundzüge 575. <sup>4</sup>Once in Bacchylides, at the beginning of a verse.

best codd. read τίν' τ' Ἐλέλιχθον, ὀργαῖς πάσαις, though — — — — — is required. The verse has consequently been emended in many ways, and yields no evidence as to the digamma. But Curtius<sup>1</sup> connected ὀργά with the root *varg* (to be eager, press forward), and this etymology is accepted by Knös,<sup>2</sup> and by Schroeder, the latter comparing the Homeric Λυκοῦργος = Λυκόφοργος.

We have thus 13 instances of hiatus before the words in the above secondary list, most of which are most satisfactorily explained as due to the influence of the digamma. In several of these, to be sure, the hiatus occurs after a dactylic thesis,<sup>3</sup> a position which, in Homer, is considered by many scholars to justify hiatus. But even if we accept this explanation for the older poet, the evidence is too slight to justify us in extending the application of the principle to Pindar.<sup>4</sup> If, then, we include these 13 places among the instances of apparent hiatus, we have a total of 142 cases to be classed under this head. The number of instances of apparent hiatus in T — Ω is more than 400.

If we examine in detail the usage of Homer in contrast with that of Pindar, we find no difficulty in understanding this great disparity.

1. More than 30 of Homer's digammated words do not occur in Pindar at all. These are ἄδος (ἄδος), ἄλις, ἀραιός, ἀρνός, ἑανός, ἑδανός, ἔθω, εἵκελος, εἵλαρ, εἵλύω, εἵσκω, Ἑκάβη, ἑκυρός, ἔλος, ἐλύω, ἔλωρ, ἔννυμι (but cf. ἐσθάς P. 4. 253), ἔρρω, ἔτης, ἐτώσιος, εὐκηλος (but cf. ἔκαλος O. 9. 58), ἥκιστος, ἥνοψ, ἥρα, ἥριον, ἰδρόω, Ἰκάριος, ἰνδάλλομαι, Ἴρις, ἰτέη, ἴτυς, ἰώή, ἰωκή, οὔλος.

2. A number of words which are digammated in Homer appear in Pindar with no trace of an initial consonant. Among these are ἄγνυμι, ἀλίσκομαι, ἄστν, ἔαρ, ἔδνον, ἔερσα, ἔθειρα, ἔθνος, εἵκω (yield), εἵλέω (εἵλω), εἵργω, ἐκάς, ἑκαστος, ἑλδομαι, ἐλεῖν, ἐλίσσω, ἔξ, ἐρύω, ἰάχ(έ)ω, ἱεμαι (hasten), ἱς (but with *r* in P. 4. 253 by a cj. of Kayser), ἱφι—, οἶνος, ὄψ.

<sup>1</sup> Grundzüge 185. <sup>2</sup> Op. cit. p. 142. <sup>3</sup> So before Ἰόλαος in O. 9. 98; P. 9. 79; P. 11. 60; I. 1. 16. <sup>4</sup> See below, p. 28.

3. Even in the case of the 30 words or stems which show the influence of the digamma, Pindar's practice is far from uniform. In fact he neglects the digamma in these words more often than he respects it,<sup>1</sup> while in Homer the influence of the digamma is felt almost six times as often as it is neglected.<sup>2</sup> Only in the case of *ol*, mentioned above, is Pindar's usage overwhelmingly in favor of the digamma.<sup>3</sup>

We pass now to the other melic writers, including the following poets of whose works we have considerable portions remaining.

Aleman	250 vv.	Simonides	570 vv.
Alcaeus	160	Bacchylides	1350
Sappho	240	Timotheus	275
Anacreon	250		

If we add to these the fragments of the less-known poets, we obtain an amount of material not much less than the extant poems and fragments of Pindar. These poets differ widely in date and in dialect, from the Laconized Lydian (?) Aleman, of the 7th century, to the Ionian Timotheus, whose *Persians* was written soon after the year 400.<sup>4</sup> Nor are all the fragments included in our examination melic in character, since the fragments, especially of Anacreon and Simonides, include many epigrams and elegiac verses. We shall take this element into consideration whenever any conclusions of importance seem to be affected by it.

The first table shows the instances of the observance of the digamma, arranged according to the words or stems to which that consonant may be ascribed, together with the number of places in which the digamma is neglected in the use of the same words. The second table includes the same instances, arranged according to the poets in which the phenomenon appears.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 5.    <sup>2</sup> See Hartel, *op. cit.* 3. 74.    <sup>3</sup> See above, p. 5.    <sup>4</sup> So Wilamowitz, *Perser* p. 63.

		<i>f</i> OBSERVED	<i>f</i> NEGLECTED
ἄγνυμι	Sapph. 2. 9.	1	0
ἄναξ, ἀνάσσω	Terp. 2; 2*; Alem. 5. 6; 14; 69; Sim. 163. 3.	5	9
ἀδύς, ἀνδάνω	Alem. 18. 2; 61. 1.	2	7
αὔτω	Alcae. 33 (see Dryoff, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift 32, 103.)	1	0
ἔαρ	Alem. 49. 3; Sim. 57.	2	2
εἶπον	Alcae. 19; Sapph. 23. 2; Bacch. 9. 72.	3	11
ἔκατι	Alem. 44. 1*; Bacch. Fr. 1. 7.	2	3
ἐλαῖν [†]	Adesp. 3* (φελέταν).	1	7
ἐλίσσω	Ibye. 6. 1.	1	1
ἐργ-, ἐρδ-	Alcae. 42*. 1; 56. 7; Bacch. 1. 25; 5. 36; 13. 32; 14. 18; Timoth. Fr. 2. 7.	7	15
ιδ-, εἰδ-	Alem. 5. 58; Sapph. 2. 7*; Sim. 17. 2; 69. 10; 79. 3; Bacch. 5. 78.	6	15
ιο- (violet)	Alem. 5. 76; Ibye. 6. 1; Sim. 13. 3; Bacch. 3. 2; 9. 3; 9. 72; Adesp. 16. 1.	7	2
οἶνος	Alcae. 43. 1.	1	9
οὔ, οἶ, ἔ, ὅς	Alem. 35*; 97; Alcae. 62*; Sapph. 87; 103 i*; Stes. 5. 2; Sim. 146. 11; Cor. 11. 1 (but see Dryoff, op. cit. p. 99); Bacch. 1. 17; 11. 110; 17. 18; 17. 37; 17. 115; 18. 46; 20. 9; Bacch. Fr. 1. 10; Adesp. 4. 1; 52. 1.	18	1
ὄψ	Bacch. 17. 129.	1	1
TOTAL		58	83

In this list, again, *f* helps to make position but six times,<sup>1</sup> while it prevents hiatus 52 times. The neglect of *f*, on the other hand, is seen 42 times in its failure to make position, 34 times in its

<sup>1</sup> Marked in the list by an asterisk.

failure to prevent elision, four times in the shortening of a vowel or diphthong at the end of the previous word, and three times in the occurrence of crasis.

	APPROX. DATE	VERSES EXTANT	DIGAMMATED WORDS	f OBSERVED	f NEGLECTED
Terpander of Lesbos	675	8	δναξ (2)	2	1
Aleman of Sparta (?)	660	255	δναξ (3), ἀδύτ (2), ξαρ (1), ξκατι (1), ιδεῖν (1), ιον (1), οὐ (2).	11	2
Alcaeus of Lesbos	595	160	αὐτω (1), εἶπον (1), ἐργ- (2), οἶνος (1), οὐ (1).	6	5
Sappho of Lesbos	595	235	ἀγνυμ(1), εἶπον (1), ιδεῖν (1), οὐ (2).	5	7
Stesichorus of Himera	590	50	οὐ (1).	1	1
Ibycus of Rhegium	550	50	ἐλίσσω (1), ιον (1).	2	0
Anacreon of Teos	545	240		0	6
Simonides of Ceos	500	570	δναξ (1), ξαρ (1), ιδεῖν (3), ιον (1), οὐ (1).	7	25
Corinna of Thebes	500	25	οὐ (1).	1	2
Pratinas of Athens	490	22		0	1
Diagoras of Melos	460	5		0	1
Bacchylides of Ceos	460	1350	εἶπον (1), ξκατι (1), ἐργ-(4), ιδεῖν (1), ιον (3), οὐ (8), ὄψ (1).	19	21
Melanippides of Melos	440	20		0	3
Philoxenus of Cythera	440	85		0	1
Timotheus of Miletus	400	275	ἐργ- (1).	1	1
Erinna of Lesbos	350[?]	25		0	2
Adespota	?	150	ελεῖν (1), ιον (1), οὐ (2).	4	4
		3525	TOTAL	59	83

If we compare these tables with the results of our observations in Pindar, several facts are at once apparent. The third personal pronoun, in these poets as in Pindar, is the one word in which the digamma is consistently recognized. Even its possessive derivative  $\delta\varsigma$ , in which Pindar more often ignores the initial consonant, shows no exception in the other melic poets. In fact, out of 19 places in which these words appear in the writers under consideration there is but a single instance of the digamma ignored:

Corinna 3  $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\nu\ \tau'\ \acute{\alpha}\pi'\ \acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\omega}\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu\ \acute{\omega}\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\nu\epsilon\nu^1$   
 where Meister corrects to  $\acute{\alpha}\phi'$ .

But when we remember that  $f$  in this pronoun is invariably observed in Pindar, Aleman, Alcaeus, Sappho, Stesichorus, Simonides, and Bacchylides, and once by Corinna herself, and that there is not, in all our extant melic poetry, a single instance of the digamma ignored except the present one, we can hardly fail to conclude that  $\acute{\alpha}\pi'\ \acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$  here points to a corruption of another kind, and calls for an emendation which shall restore  $f$ . Next come the words  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\xi$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ , and the stems  $\iota\delta-$  ( $\omicron\iota\delta\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron\nu$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma-$ , ( $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\delta-$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi-(\epsilon'\pi-)$ , and  $\acute{\alpha}\delta-(\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma, \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega)$ , which show 23 instances of  $f$  respected to 58 instances of  $f$  neglected.<sup>1</sup>

A few words appear with  $f$  in Pindar but without  $f$  in the other melic poets, and *vice versa*, as shown in the following table:

	PINDAR		OTHER MELIC POETS	
	$f$ RECOGNIZED	$f$ IGNORED	$f$ RECOGNIZED	$f$ IGNORED
$\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\rho$	0	2	2 (Alem., Sim.)	2
$\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota$	1	0	0	3
$\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$	0	10	1 (Adesp.)	7
$\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega$	0	4	1 (Ibye.)	1
$\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$	5	6	0	6
$\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$	2	4	0	2
$\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$	2	1	0	3
$\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$	1	3	0	1
$\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$	0	6	1 (Alcae.)	9

<sup>1</sup> See Dryoff, *op. cit.* p. 98. <sup>2</sup> In Pindar 42 to 113.

The number of instances in the above table is probably too small to allow any important conclusions to be drawn from them.

If we consider, now, the usage of the different poets, separately, as presented in the second table, we find, as might be expected, that the digamma falls more and more into oblivion from century to century. Terpander and Alcman are almost as consistent as Homer in their observance of this consonant, and in the case of Alcman we have a sufficient number of verses to afford a fairly adequate basis for observation. Alcaeus and Sappho show a decided falling off, and ignore the digamma as often as they respect it. The Ionian Anacreon shows no trace of the digamma in hiatus. Simonides, the older contemporary of Pindar, and originator of the epinician ode, is far less inclined than Pindar to remember the digamma, which must be attributed to his Cean birth, and also, perhaps, to the fact that the poems of Simonides which we possess are for the most part epigrams or elegies. It is not unlikely that if we had complete epinician odes of this poet we should find in them many more traces of the digamma. This opinion is supported by what we see of the usage of Bacchylides. The younger poet, though reared in the same dialect as his famous uncle, is much more consistent in his observance of the digamma, and stands in this respect much nearer to his great rival Pindar.<sup>1</sup> It seems difficult to account for this fact in any other way than by attributing it to the different poetical character of the extant poems of Bacchylides, which are epinician odes, with few epigrams or elegies. In the fifth century the digamma practically disappears from melic poetry, so far as our scanty fragments afford us evidence. It is probable, however, that if we possessed extensive remains of Pratinas, Diagoras, Melanippides, Philoxenus, and the others, we should still see sporadic traces of the influence of the almost forgotten consonant. Even at the opening of the fourth century we find, in a fragment of Timotheus, ἀκλέα φέργα, though the *Persians* adds nothing to our list. In Attic tragedy itself the ghost of the digamma walks.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For instances of "false digamma" in Bacchylides, see below, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Soph. Trach. 650 ἀ δέ φοι φίλα δάμαρ. See also Elec. 196.



The direct effect of dialect upon the use of the digamma by these poets is not so conspicuous as we should expect. This is probably owing to the fact that the language of all of them, notwithstanding their different places of birth or of residence, is more or less modified by poetic tradition. The two Cean, Simonides and Bacchylides, used the common lyric forms which are familiar to us in Boeotian Pindar, and it is only when we reach Timotheus that we find a language free from Aeolic and Doric influence.<sup>1</sup> Of the older poets in our list, Anacreon writes the purest Ionic, and it is significant that in the 240 verses which we have from his pen there appears to be no instance of hiatus before a digamated stem.

## II.—Hiatus after a diphthong or long vowel.

Hiatus after a diphthong or long vowel, usually with the metrical value of a short syllable, is very frequent in the melic poets as well as in Homer. In Homer, indeed, it occurs on every page, and almost in every verse.<sup>2</sup> Pindar avails himself of this license much more sparingly than Homer, but even in Pindar this is by far the most frequent variety of hiatus, occurring no less than 212 times in the extant odes and fragments, or an average of almost six times to each 100 verses. The following table records the instances in Pindar of hiatus after each diphthong and long vowel, omitting, of course, those cases which have already been noticed under apparent hiatus. For convenience of reference the cases where the natural long quantity is retained are noted in a separate column.

---

<sup>1</sup> Yet see Wilamowitz, Perser, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> More exactly, about once in four verses.

DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS. *a.* PINDAR.

	METRICALLY SHORT	METRICALLY LONG
<b>—αι</b>		
<i>καί</i>	O. 1. 31; 4. 23; 6. 92; 7. 7; 7. 55; 7. 63; 8. 47; 8. 47; 8. 69; 8. 69; 9. 14; 9. 23; 9. 59; 9. 82; 10. 15; 10. 62; 11. 19; 13. 7; 13. 84; 13. 107; P. 1. 1; 1. 94; 1. 100; 2. 51; 3. 90; 4. 164; 4. 174; 4. 194; 4. 254; 4. 272; 8. 28; 8. 56; 8. 57 <sup>b</sup> ; 9. 22; 9. 37; 9. 40; 9. 63; 9. 64; 9. 88; 9. 113; 10. 17; 10. 22; 10. 69; 11. 9; N. 1. 17; 1. 32; 2. 1; 2. 3; 3. 54; 3. 61; 4. 75; 5. 7; 6. 49; 6. 54; 6. 66; 7. 101; 10. 31; 10. 47; 10. 77; 11. 2; 11. 7; 11. 23; I. 1. 2; 1. 48; 1. 57; 5. 5; 5. 18; 7. 32; 8. 5; 8. 59; Frag. 1. 2; 76. 1; 76. 1; 127. 1; 127. 1; 143. 1; 169. 2; 169. 7; 199. 3. 79	0
<i>—ται</i> (verbs)	O. 8. 53; 13. 99; P. 2. 74; 4. 273; 4. 293; 8. 93; 9. 49; 9. 56; 9. 59; 12. 29; N. 3. 71; 5. 37; 7. 16; 11. 13; I. 4. 68; Frag. 123. 3; 131. 3; 133. 2. 18	0
<i>—μαι</i> (verbs)	O. 2. 92; 6. 86; 8. 86; P. 2. 4; N. 4. 35; 5. 16; 9. 29; Frag. 107. 19; 123. 7. 9	0
<i>—νται</i> (verbs)	N. 7. 20. 1	0
Infinitive	P. 2. 60; 9. 119; 12. 18; N. 4. 79; 5. 1; 10. 58; Frag. 42. 4. 7	0
<i>φθέγξαι</i>	N. 5. 52. 1	0
Nom. pl.	O. 14. 1; N. 2. 18; Frag. 76. 2 3	I. 8. 56 1
<i>παῖ</i>	O. 4. 5. 1	0
<i>πάλοι</i>	I. 2. 1. 1	0
	<b>TOTAL —αι</b> 120	<b>1</b>

DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS. a. PINDAR.—*Cont'd.*

	METRICALLY SHORT	METRICALLY LONG
<b>—οι</b>		
Nom. pl.	O. 12. 5; 13. 17; P. 2. 35; 3. 36; 9. 107; N. 1. 67; 4. 38; 1. 2. 8; 6. 19; 6. 22; Frag. 74 <sup>b</sup> . 5; 182. 1; 229. 1	13
		0
Dat. sing.	O. 2. 83; 6. 65; 7. 89; 13.76; P. 4. 197; 4. 287; 9. 109; N. 1. 21; 1. 58; 3. 39; 5. 34; 10. 80	12
		0
τοι	P. 4. 148; N. 5. 16; 10. 82	3
		0
Opt.	O. 6. 6	1
		0
	TOTAL —οι	29
		0
<b>—ει</b>		
ἐπεί	O. 7. 90; 9. 29; 14. 4; P. 11. 33; 12. 18; N. 10. 14	6
		0
3rd pers. sing.	N. 6. 4	1
		0
	TOTAL —ει	7
		0
<b>—ευ</b>		
κέκλευ	I. 6. 53	1
		0
	TOTAL —ευ	1
		0
<b>—ου</b>		
Gen. sing.	O. 3. 14; 6. 9; 9. 79; P. 2. 39; 2. 58; 4. 5; 4. 33; 4. 64; 9. 81; N. 5. 13; 5. 43; 6. 27; 6. 28; 10. 88; 11. 2; I. 1. 66; 4. 47; 6. 65; 8. 39; 8. 65; Frag. 29. 6; 123. 2; 188. 1	23
		3
που	P. 4. 87	1
		0
	TOTAL —ου	24
		3

DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS. a. PINDAR.—*Cont'd.*

	METRICALLY SHORT	METRICALLY LONG
<b>—φ</b>		
Dat. sing.	O. 7. 43; 8. 9; 8. 16; 13. 30; 13. 37; P. 4. 21; N. 4. 46; 4. 94; 6. 26; 8. 23; I. 1. 8; 1. 11; 5. 61; 6. 8	O. 10. 25; N. 6. 22; 10. 15; I. 1. 16; 1. 61
	14	5
	TOTAL —φ	14
		5
<b>—α</b>		
Dat. sing.	O. 5. 2; 8. 83; 10. 41; 10. 43; 13. 101; N. 8. 18; 11. 23	O. 3. 30; 6. 82; P. 11. 47
	7	3
	TOTAL —α	7
		3
<b>—η</b>		
Subjv.	0	O. 8. 24
	0	1
	TOTAL —η	0
		1
<b>—ᾱ</b>		
Nom. sing.	O. 6. 62	1
		0
Doric gen.	O. 8. 54; P. 9. 81	2
		0
	TOTAL —ᾱ	3
		0
<b>—η</b>		
ῆ	O. 13. 113; P. 11. 24	2
		I. 7. 8; 7. 9; 7. 10
ῆδη	P. 3. 57	1
		0
	TOTAL —η	3
		3
<b>—ω</b>		
οὔπω	O. 7. 55	1
		0
ἐγώ	I. 1. 14	1
		0
προσεννέπω	I. 6. 17 (emendation)	1
		0
ἱκετεύω	Frag. 107. 7	1
		0
	TOTAL —ω	4
		0
	GRAND TOTAL	212
		16

The following table shows the usage of Bacchylides and the other melic poets, except Pindar:

DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS. *b. OTHER MELIC POETS.*

	METRICALLY SHORT	METRICALLY LONG	
<i>-αι</i>			
<i>καί</i>	Bacch. 3. 48; 5. 31; 8. 2; 9. 46; 9. 79; 10. 44; 11. 24; 11. 66; 11. 113; 13. 30; 13. 188; 14. 23; 15. 57; 15. 62; 18. 38; 18. 53; 19. 46; Frag. 60. 1; Eum. 1. 2; Alec. 32. 1; Alcae. 66. 2; 79. 1; Sapph. 27. 1; 105. 3; Stesich. 1. 2; 2. 1; 23. 1; Anac. 90. 3; 96. 1; Simon. 19. 2; 23. 1; 69. 2; 80. 3; 89. 3; 91. 7; 94. 3; 97. 2; 118. 5; 120. 2; 124. 1; 135. 9; 142. 3; Timoc. 3. 5; Prax. 2. 3; 2. 3; Philox. 2. 28; 2. 32; Telest. 1. 7; Erin. 4. 2; 5. 7 7	50	0
<i>-ται</i> (verbs)	Bacch. 3. 87; 16. 6; 16. 8 [?]; Sapph. 91. 1; Anac. 68. 1; 90. 4; 95. 2; Simon. 17. 1; 119. 5; 144. 2; Timoth. 29. 1; Erin. 3. 1 12		0
<i>-μαι</i> (verbs)	Bacch. 5. 195; Sapph. 2. 16; Simon. 95. 1; Timoth. Pers. 149; Adesp. 56. 1 5		0
<i>-νται</i> (verbs)	Bacch. 10. 33 [?] 1		0
<i>-αι</i> (infin.)	Alcae. 62. 1; Sapph. 103 k; Simon. 154. 8 3		0
<i>-αι</i> (nom. pl.)	Sapph. 26. 1; Timoc. 3. 5 2		0
<i>πάλαι</i>	Sapph. 103 c 1		0
	TOTAL <i>-αι</i> 74		0



DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS. *b. OTHER MELIC POETS.—Cont'd.*

	METRICALLY SHORT	METRICALLY LONG
<i>-α</i>		
Dat. sing.	Sapph. 103 k; Anac. 102. 1; Simon. 126. 3; 149. 1	Simon. 22. 1
<i>ρ α'</i>	4	1
	0	Alem. 12 1
	TOTAL <i>-α</i> 4	2
<i>-η</i>		
Dat. sing.	Simon. 72. 1; 129. 5	2 0
Subjv.	Simon. 41. 6	1 0
	TOTAL <i>-η</i> 3	0
<i>-ā</i>		
Nom. sing.	Alem. 92. 1; Alcae. 85. 1; Erin. 5. 7	3 0
Doric gen.	Anac. 105. 1; Simon. 79. 1	2 0
Voc. sing.	Simon. 80. 1; 96. 2	2 0
	TOTAL <i>-ā</i> 7	0
<i>-η</i>		
Voc. sing.	Simon. 145. 1	1 0
	TOTAL <i>-η</i> 1	0
<i>-ω</i>		
1st pers. sing.	Sapph. 104. 1; Simon. 109. 2	2 0
Gen. sing.	Adesp. 8. 1	1 Alem. 54. 1 [?] 1
<i>ω</i>	0	Alem. 79. 1; Timoth. 25. 4; Erin. 6. 7 3
	TOTAL <i>-ω</i> 3	4
	GRAND TOTAL 140	12

For convenience of reference, the following summary is added:

DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS, IN PINDAR, BACCHYLIDES,  
AND THE OTHER MELIC POETS.

	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG
<i>-αι</i>				
καί	129	0		
-ται (verbs)	30	0		
-μαι (verbs)	14	0		
-νται (verbs)	2	0		
Infin.	10	0		
Impv.	1	0		
Nom. pl.	5	1		
πάλαι	2	0		
παῖ	1	0		
TOTAL -αι			194	1
<i>-οι</i>				
Nom. pl.	22	1		
Dat. sing.	21	1		
τοι	5	0		
Opt.	1	0		
TOTAL -οι			49	2
<i>-ει</i>				
ἐπεί	6	0		
3rd sing.	2	0		
Dat. sing.	3	0		
ἰώνει	0	1		
TOTAL -ει			11	1



DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS, IN PINDAR, BACCHYLIDES,  
AND THE OTHER MELIC POETS.—*Cont'd.*

	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG
<b>—ευ</b>				
κέλευ	1	0		
<b>TOTAL —ευ</b>			1	0
<b>—ου</b>				
Gen. sing.	33	4		
που	1	0		
ιδού	0	1		
<b>TOTAL —ου</b>			34	5
<b>—φ</b>				
Dat. sing.	28	6		
<b>TOTAL —φ</b>			28	6
<b>—α</b>				
Dat. sing.	11	4		
ῥά	0	1		
<b>TOTAL —α</b>			11	5
<b>—η</b>				
Dat. sing.	2	0		
Subjv.	1	1		
<b>TOTAL —η</b>			3	1

DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS, IN PINDAR, BACCHYLIDES,  
AND THE OTHER MELIC POETS.—*Cont'd.*

	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG
<b>—<i>ā</i></b>				
Nom. sing.	4	0		
Doric gen.	4	0		
Voc. sing.	2	0		
<b>TOTAL —<i>ā</i></b>			10	0
<b>—<i>η</i></b>				
Voc. sing.	1	0		
<i>ῆ</i>	2	3		
<i>ῆδῆ</i>	1	0		
<b>TOTAL —<i>η</i></b>			4	3
<b>—<i>ω</i></b>				
1st pers. sing.	4	0		
<i>έγω</i>	1	0		
<i>ούπω</i>	1	0		
Gen. sing.	1	1		
<i>ῶ</i>	0	3		
<b>TOTAL —<i>ω</i></b>			7	4
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>			352	28

On examining the above tables we observe several interesting facts. The diphthong *—ai* appears in hiatus far more frequently than any other, and the single word *καί* furnishes more than half of all the cases. Next follow certain verbal endings, especially *—ται* and *—μαι*, and finally a very few other words.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of note that *καί* is never elided, and of the verbal endings *—ται* and *—μαι* are elided far less frequently than *—νται* and *—σθαι*. The significance of these facts will be discussed in another paper.

Among the cases of *-oi* the nom. pl. and the dat. sing. of pronouns are most frequent. Under *-ei* the word *ἐπεῖ* has the leading place, as is the case in Homer. The cases of *-ov* are practically all genitives singular, while those of *-φ* are all datives singular, as are all but one of the cases of *-α*.

It is clearly the rule that diphthongs and long vowels are shortened in hiatus, the number of exceptions being but 28, or only one-fourteenth of the whole number. This fact is striking, for in Homer diphthongs and long vowels retain their quantity in hiatus about twice as often, proportionately, or in one seventh of the whole number of instances.<sup>1</sup>

If we fix our attention first on the diphthongs, we see that the first five, consisting of a *short* vowel with *ι* or *υ*, form a group by themselves. Within this group the correption occurs no less than 289 times, while the natural quantity is retained but nine times. Comparing these five diphthongs with the whole list we see that five-sixths of the cases where the rule is observed, and only one-third of the exceptions, occur within this group. So far as the *ι* diphthongs are concerned, we find here a strong confirmation of the opinion of Grulich,<sup>2</sup> that both the toleration of hiatus, and the correption, are to be explained by assuming a change of the vowel *ι* to the corresponding semi-vowel before the initial vowel of the following word.<sup>3</sup> Though *jot* had perished long before Pindar wrote, and probably before the time of any of the poets under consideration, yet its influence could still be felt. Its sound would naturally emerge whenever an *ι* was spoken immediately before another vowel. This at once obviates the hiatus, and the remaining vowel of the diphthong, being left by itself, shows its natural quantity, which in the cases we are discussing (*αι*, *οι*, *ει*) is short.

In the diphthongs consisting of a short vowel with *ι* we find in our whole list of melic poets but four exceptions to the law of shortening. These are:

Pind. I. 8. 56 *ἀοιδὰι ἔλιπον* (— — — — —).

This has been emended by Hermann (*γ' ἔλιπον*) and Schroeder (*τι λίκπον*). The latter emendation should probably be accepted.

<sup>1</sup> See Grulich, *op. cit.* 20. <sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* 21. <sup>3</sup> Curtius, *Studien* I. 2, 279 ff., regards the correption of *-αι*, *-οι*, as semi-elision.

Bacch. 11. 120 πρόγονοι ἐσσάμενοι (— — — — —) is corrupt. Kenyon and Smyth accept the cj. of Palmer ἔσσαν ἐμοί, Smyth excusing the hiatus by Pind. O. 6. 82, which is hardly a parallel case.<sup>1</sup> This reading introduces an entirely unwarranted bit of personal history, and the cj. of Blass προγόνων ἐσσαμένων, approved by Wilamowitz, is to be preferred.

Sappho 103 b ψαύην δ' οὐ δοκέει μοι ὀράνω, and

Corinna 4. 1 ἰώνει ἡρώων ἀρετὰς χήρωάδων, are too uncertain, both in text and rhythm, to afford any basis for discussion.

Grulich extended the application of this same principle to the diphthong *-ου*. But here, as pointed out by F. D. Allen,<sup>2</sup> he was in error, since the *-ου* in question is always the so-called "spurious" *-ου* (usually the ending of the gen. sing.), arising from contraction. It was never a true diphthong, and hence its final vowel could scarcely have been changed to the corresponding semi-vowel. Professor Allen himself suggested that the frequent occurrence of hiatus after this genitive ending must be explained as arising from an earlier habit of eliding the uncontracted ending *-οο*. Hiatus once established after this ending, it would be easy and natural to transfer it to the ending *-ου*, when the older form had passed out of use. This would account for all our instances of hiatus after *-ου* used as short (so *που* in Pind. P. 4. 87), since in each of them we have to do with the genitive ending of the *-ο-* declension.

The five cases of hiatus after *-ου* where the diphthong is treated as long offer little difficulty. In Pind. N. 9. 55 σκοποῦ ἄγχιστα was emended by Ahrens to σκοποῖ ἄγχιστα, and in Pind. I. 1. 16 Ἰολάου ἐναρμόξαι the same emendation was made by Mommsen. Both these emendations are generally accepted, since Pindar, unlike Homer, does not hesitate to elide the final vowel of *-οιο* (cf. O. 13. 35). The same emendation is easily made in Pind. Frag. 177. 4 αἰνιγμα παρθένου ἐξ ἀγριᾶν γνάθων, and in Simon. 84. 2 κνάνεον θανάτου ἀμφεβάλοντο νέφος (cf. Simon. 69. 11 θιότοι ὀλίγος, this, too, in an elegy). The one remaining instance of *-ου* long in hiatus is Pratinas 1. 15 ἦν

<sup>1</sup> γλώσσα ἀκόνας (— — — — —). See below, p. 27. <sup>2</sup> Greek Versification in Inscriptions, Papers of the Am. School at Athens, 4. 121.

ἰδοῦ ἄδε σοι δεξιὰ, where the sense-pause after ἰδοῦ makes the hiatus objectionable.

We have thus far considered all those instances of hiatus which occur after a diphthong consisting of a short vowel followed by *ι* or *υ*, and at the same time accounted for the quantity of the syllable. These number 298 out of a total of 380 cases of hiatus after a long vowel or diphthong. To these we may now add the 12 (*α* 5, *η* 1, *ω* 6) occurrences of hiatus after a diphthong consisting of a *long* vowel followed by *ι*, where the diphthong is treated as *long*. Here the transformation of *ι* into a semi-vowel obviates the hiatus, and the remaining long vowel retains its natural quantity. Adding these 12 instances, we have in all 310 cases under this head which are satisfactorily accounted for. The 70 which remain are more troublesome.

We shall first take up the instances of hiatus after *-ω* where the diphthong is treated as *short*. These number 28, and are distributed as follows:

Pindar	14
Bacchylides	2
Sappho	1
Simonides <sup>1</sup>	11
	<hr/>
	28

Here the law of Grulich would account for the hiatus only, but not for the curtailment of the quantity, since after the development of a semi-vowel from the *ι*, a *long* vowel (*ω*) is left. But even here we are not altogether at loss. As remarked above,<sup>2</sup> these are all cases of the dat. sing. of the *-ο-* declension. Grulich himself suggested<sup>3</sup> that the original locative ending in *-οι* may have had an influence in bringing about the correction of *-ω* in hiatus, and F. D. Allen has pointed out<sup>4</sup> that this locative ending, in certain dialects, did regular duty as a dative. The confusion of the two cases was easy, as we see from the fact that it was the Sanskrit locative ending in *-i*, and not the Sanskrit dative in *-ē*, which became the standard dative ending in Greek. How far this dative (locative) ending *-οι*, which was specially Boeotian, could have affected such poets as Sappho, Simonides, and Bacchylides, may be doubtful, but in the case of Simonides,

<sup>1</sup> Only in epigram or elegy. <sup>2</sup> p. 17. <sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 44. <sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 121.

at least, we may take refuge in the fact that the farther he was removed from Pindar's Boeotian, the nearer he stood to Homeric influence, and in Homer he could find precedent enough for the correction of  $-\varphi$ . Pindar, however, rejoiced in declaring his independence of Homer,<sup>1</sup> and in the Pindaric instances we prefer to see the influence of the traditions of the poet's native speech.

Next come 14 occurrences of hiatus after  $-\alpha$  and  $-\eta$ , with correction. These appear as follows:

Pindar	7	(datives only)
Sappho	1	(dative)
Anacreon	1	(dative)
Simonides	5	(4 datives, 1 subjv. 3d sing.)

Here again the Pindaric instances stand in a class by themselves. For the Boeotian dialect an older form in  $-\tilde{\alpha}iota$ , of the dative ending of the  $-\alpha$ -declension, is abundantly proved, and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the existence of these two dative endings, in  $-\tilde{\alpha}iota$  and in  $-\alpha$ , had its influence upon Pindar, and helped to shape his treatment of the dative ending in hiatus, viz., that  $-\alpha$  is treated seven times as short and three times as long.<sup>2</sup>

But the instances in Sappho (1), Anacreon (1), and Simonides (5), cannot be explained by referring them to the peculiarities of the Boeotian dialect. Here we are forced to fall back upon the influence of analogy,—the analogy of Homeric usage, which was pervasive and powerful in all of the early Greek poetry. The following table shows the comparative frequency of  $\varphi$  and

<sup>1</sup> See especially N. 7. 20 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Since Grulich made no use of the dative in  $-\tilde{\alpha}iota$  in explaining hiatus, while he makes much of the dative in  $-\alphaiota$ , I add a number of references, though the facts are of course familiar to most scholars. See Meister, Gr. Dial. 1882, pp. 238 f. 271; Gust. Meyer, Gr. Gram. 1886, p. 341; Brugmann's Vergl. Gram. (Eng. Trans.) Vol. 3, pp. 147 f. ["In Greek we find  $-\tilde{\alpha}iota$  in place of  $-\tilde{\alpha}iota$  in the dative, as we find  $-\alphaiota$ , the locative ending, in place of  $-\omegaiota$ . . . .  $\tilde{\alpha}iota$  is certain for Boeotian, and so it was doubtless found in the other dialects which had  $-\alphaiota$  instead of  $-\omegaiota$ ." Brugmann then speaks of the confusion which arose between the locative and the dative, and adds "After this, both classes of stems moved on side by side in the same direction. In one group of dialects, as in Ionic-Attic,  $\varphi$  and  $\epsilon$  absorbed  $-\alphaiota$  and  $-\alphaiota$  in the declensions, so that these survived only in adverbs and in certain fossil forms (e.g.  $\alpha\lambda\kappa\alpha\iota$ ,  $\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\varsigma$ ) while elsewhere, as in Boeotian,  $-\alphaiota$  and  $-\alphaiota$  gained the day."] See also Brugmann's Gr. Gram. 1900, p. 226, and cf. Pindar's  $\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\nu$  P. 4. 98. In Kühner-Blass I, p. 371, the dative in  $-\tilde{\alpha}iota$  is given place, though in discussing hiatus, (p. 193 f.) Blass follows Grulich in taking account only of the dative in  $-\alphaiota$ , and ignoring the dative in  $-\tilde{\alpha}iota$ .

$\eta$  ( $\alpha$ ) in hiatus, used as long or as short respectively, in Homer, Pindar, Simonides, Bacchylides, and the other melic writers:

	$\varphi$		$\eta$ ( $\alpha$ )	
	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG
Homer <sup>1</sup>	340	303	162	177
Pindar	14	5	7	4
Simonides	11	0	5	1
Bacchylides	2	0	0	0
Other melic poets	1	1	2	1

The uniformity with which Simonides shortens these diphthongs is remarkable, when compared with the practice either of Homer or of Pindar.

We have yet to notice the 28 instances of hiatus after a long vowel. Here the tendency to shorten the vowel is very decided, only seven of the 28 cases showing the vowel metrically long. The three cases of  $\eta$  as long may possibly be explained, with Mommsen,<sup>2</sup> as standing for  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}(\eta')$ , or, with Hartel,<sup>3</sup> as due to the natural pause after the disjunctive, but neither of these explanations will help us with the four other cases of long quantity retained, or with the 21 cases of correption in these vowels.

In view of this difficulty, many scholars will feel inclined to abandon the effort to account for hiatus by the character of the vowel or diphthong itself, and to rely on the convenient rule that long vowels are shortened in hiatus, except when metrical ictus gives them sufficient firmness to resist this so-called "semi-elision," especially in a dactylic thesis.<sup>4</sup> It may be well, therefore, to notice the metrical location of the syllables when the long mensuration is retained in the poets in question. We find in logaoedic<sup>5</sup> verse 11 instances, of which five are in the thesis of a dactyl, two in the thesis of a trochee, three are trisemes, and

<sup>1</sup> See Grulich, *op. cit.* 20. <sup>2</sup> Supplement p. 166. <sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* 2. 359. <sup>4</sup> See Christ on Pind. O. 1. 103. <sup>5</sup> I take the liberty of retaining the usual metrical terminology, since the metricians of the new school are not yet fully agreed among themselves.

one (Pind. I. 7. 8) an anacrusis. Ten instances are in dactylo-epitritic verse, of which four are in the thesis of a dactyl, two in the thesis of a spondee, two in the thesis of a trochee, two (Pind. I. 1. 16, Bacch. 11. 120) in anacrusis. Three instances are in dactylic hexameters, of which two are in the thesis of the third foot and one in the thesis of the second foot. Finally, in Pratinas 1. 15. the third syllable of a cretic is long in hiatus. It thus appears that out of 25 instances of the kind we are discussing, only 12 are in the thesis of a dactyl, the remaining cases being found in almost every possible metrical position, even in the unaccented part of a foot, or in anacrusis. The effort at explanation, then, on the basis of metrical position, is not more successful than that which seeks the excuse for hiatus in the nature of the vowels on diphthongs concerned. In either case we must be content to find a residuum of phenomena which can be explained only by analogy, or as instances of poetic license. But in general the present writer inclines to the opinion of Mommsen<sup>1</sup> "*Tota de hiatu quaestio non in numerorum sed in vocabulorum natura vertitur.*" It would not be difficult to show ground for the belief that far too much stress has been laid upon the effort of verse-position in mitigating hiatus even in Homer.

It may be profitable, here, to recapitulate the results of the preceding discussion of hiatus after a diphthong or long vowel:

1. After *ai, oi, ei.*

Short, 254 instances, to be explained as by Grulich and Hartel.

Long, 4 instances, to be emended.

2. After *ev, ov.*

Short, 35 instances, mostly genitives, to be explained as due to the older ending *-oo* elided.

Long, 5 instances, of which 4 are genitives to be amended to *-oi'*.

3. After *φ, α, η.*

Short, 42 instances, mostly datives, probably influenced by old dative endings in *-α* and *-ᾱ*.

Long, 12 instances, to be explained as by Grulich.

---

<sup>1</sup> Supplement p. 167.



4. After  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\omega$ .

Short, 21 instances.  
Long, 7 instances.

TOTAL      Short, 352.  
                 Long, 28.

It is well known that the dactylic foot is the natural home of correction in hiatus. The following table shows the kind of foot, and place in the foot, in which these shortened syllables appear in the Melic poets:

	DACTYL		TRIBRACH			CRETIC	TROCHEE	TOTAL
	2d	3d	1st	2d	3d			
$\alpha$	68	121			1	2 [Pind. O. 2. 92 P. 11. 9]	2 [Pind. O. 14. 1 Bacch. 10. 33]	194
$\epsilon$		9					2 [Bacch. 10. 43 16. 20]	11
$\alpha$	8	36		1	1	2 [Pind. O. 2. 83 Bacch. 17. 115]	1 [Pind. P. 8. 96]	49
$\epsilon$	1							1
$\omega$	4	30						34
$\eta$		11						11
$\eta$		3						3
$\psi$	6	21		1				28
$\bar{a}$		10						10
$\eta$	1	2	1					4
$\omega$	3	4						7
TOTAL	91	247	1	2	2	4	5	352

The exceptions to the rule that correction in hiatus is confined to dactyls, are so few as scarcely to demand attention. The melic poets evidently received this license as an inheritance from Homer, and employed it almost exclusively in the characteristic Homeric foot, though in logaoedic verse as freely as in dactylo-epitritic.<sup>1</sup> Rapid motion was necessary to justify the curtailment of quantity, and the dactyl is the measure of rapid motion.

<sup>1</sup>This is a fact which the new metricians, who break up the glyconic dactyls into trochees and iambs, will need to reckon with. See the author's paper in the *Classical Review* for July (or October), 1904.

This necessity for the rapid swing of the dactylic movement is still further shown by the fact that almost three-fourths of all our instances occur in the third syllable of the dactyl, where the acceleration has gained its full headway. It is only in the case of the diphthong *-ai* that there is any approach to equality (68 to 121) between the two shorts of the dactyl in this respect. The correption of *-ai*, especially in the conjunction *καί* (130 times), seems to have been so well established that it could occur almost as easily in the second syllable of a dactyl as in the third. But with the other vowels and diphthongs in our list the disparity is over-whelming (23 times in the second syllable of the dactyl, 126 times in the third). Such a difference can hardly be accidental.

The few instances of correction in a tribrach, or resolved trochee, need not detain us, since the license is generally admitted to be allowable under such circumstances. The cases noted in cretics are more or less uncertain, especially Pind. P. 11. 9, where the foot is perhaps a tribrach. But in the trochee proper it is very doubtful whether the curtailment should be admitted at all. The apparent instances are as follows:

Pind. O. 14. 1 Καφισίων ὑδάτων λαχοῖσαι αἶτε ναίετε καλλίπωλον  
                   ἔδραν (- - - - -).  
                   - - -).

Here the trochee (–οῖσαι) seems to be proved by the corresponding syllables in the antistrophe (–ησί–). But this ode is notoriously corrupt, and the slight emendation of Boeckh (λαχοῖσαν) avoids hiatus, and does not injure the sense. Schroeder's ταί τε for αἵ τε seems less good, since it introduces – for – υ.

Pind. P. 8. 96 σκιᾶς ὄναρ|ἄνθρωποι. ἀλλ' ὅταν . . . ( — — — |  
— — — — — ).

Here the reading *ἄνθρωπος*, found in Plut. Cons. Apoll. 6, is far more poetic, and is generally adopted by modern editors.

**Bacch. 10. 33 and 43.**

These two cases are peculiar. They occur in a short ode, in which there are but two triads, and the verse in question is the

fifth of the strophe (antistrophe), and hence this metrical series occurs in the poem four times.

5. ( . . . ) νωνται ( . . . . . ) ψ  
 15. ὅσσα <νῦν> Νίκας ἔκατι ἄνθεσιν ξαν—  
 33. οἳ τε Π<ελλάν>αν νέμονται, ἀμφί τ' Εὐβοί—  
 43. ποικίλον τόξον τιταίνει· οἳ δ' ἐπ' ἔργοι—

In 15 the marked hiatus after ἔκατι, together with the fact that -ατι makes a trochee where we should expect a spondee, subjects the text to well-deserved suspicion. Consequently it is far better, with Blass and Jebb, to alter the division of verses as it appears in the papyrus, and end the verse with ἔκατι. This avoids the hiatus, secures the succession of regular dactylo-epitrites, and at the same time (in 33 and 43) relieves us of two of our cases of correction in a trochaic foot.

Bacch. 16. 20 κόρα τ' ὀβριμοδερκεῖ ἄζυγα

This series of quantities occurs only once elsewhere in the poem, in the mutilated verse 8, which closes -ται ῥόνων. In this case Mr. Kenyon's only reason for making the syllable before the hiatus short is (apparently) the fact that hiatus occurs in both verses. But we have already seen that correction in a trochee is much more unusual than the retention of the long quantity in hiatus. Hence the scansion of Blass ( ~ - - ~ - - - ~ - ) is to be preferred.

### III.—Hiatus after a short vowel.

Hiatus after a short vowel is very uncommon in Greek melic poetry. The only instances which appears in modern texts of Pindar have already been noticed<sup>1</sup>, as affording room for at least a suspicion of the digamma. A small number of cases in Bacchylides and the melic fragments, must now be mentioned.

Bacch. 2. 7 αὔχενι Ἴσθμοῦ

For *φισθμός*, see above, p. 6.

Bacch. 5. 75 ἐξείλετο ἰόν

17. 131 φρένα ἰανθείς

<sup>1</sup> See above pp. 5 ff.

These seem to be instances of "false digamma." We have no evidence that either *ῥός* (arrow), or *ῥαίνω*, was ever digammated, but both words suggest to the ear the familiar *ῥον* (violet), which has the digamma in Homer, Aleman, Ibycus, Simonides, Pindar, and three times in Bacchylides.<sup>1</sup>

Bacch. 3 64     *μεγαίνητε ῥέρων*

This is a difficult case, but is eased somewhat by the fact that the final vowel of *μεγαίνητε* is apparently lengthened by the ictus. Cf. vv. 4, 8, 18, 22, 32, 36, 46, 50, 60, 78, 88, of the same poem, where the corresponding syllable is long. Vv. 74 and 92 are mutilated.

Bacch. 16. 5     *ἀνθεμόεντι ῥέβρω*

Sapph. 103. 2     *οὐκέτι εἴξω*<sup>2</sup>

Sim. 22. 3     *δείματι ῥήριπεν*

22. 8     *νυκτὶ ἀλαμπεῖ*

Philox. 2. 2     *μέχρι οὐ*

There are in Homer a few instances of hiatus, not otherwise explained, after the vowel *ι*, and on these has been based a law permitting hiatus after this vowel, though the evidence for such a law is not entirely adequate. In the examples before us, however, the *ι* in most cases occurs in a word, or in a termination, where it is very seldom elided,<sup>3</sup> and hence the hiatus may be justified.<sup>4</sup>

Timoth. Pers. 118     *φερόμεθ' α · οὐ . . .*

Here the text is not quite certain, but the marked pause in the sense makes the hiatus unobjectionable.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 10. Did Bacchylides, as a Cean, learn his digamma for use in his odes in Pindaric style, and have we here an instance of the *διδασκαλ ἀπεραι* which Pindar is supposed to scorn, as contrasted with his own *φωά*? Gossiping scholiasts and editors on O. 2. 86 ff., O. 9. 100 ff., N. 3. 41 f., could have made much of this.

<sup>2</sup> Smyth suspects the digamma here.

<sup>3</sup> So especially in the dative singular. See pp. 6 f.

<sup>4</sup> For Bacch. 10. 15 *ἔκατι ἀνθεσιν* see above p. 32.

## CONCLUSION.

In a number of places where hiatus apparently occurs, the two vowels or diphthongs are to be pronounced as one syllable (synizesis). On this point editors differ a good deal, but the following instances seem reasonably certain.

Pind. O.	13.	7	ταμίαι ἀνδράσι (Schr. ταμί')
	13.	99	δὴ ἀμφοτέρωθεν
P.	11.	55	ᾄται εἰ (cj. Hermann)
Alem.	5.	50	ἦ οὐχ
Sapph.	1.	11	ὠράνω αἴθερος
	1.	17	κῶττι ἔμψ
	69.	1	κείσκει οὐδέποτα
	84.	3	ἐγὼ οὐδέ
Anac.	32.	6	μὴ ἀναβῆναι
	67		φιλέω οὔτε
	90.	1	φιλέω ὅς
Sim.	3.	5	μὴ οὐ
	57.	1	κλυτὰ ἔαρος
Timoer.	1.	12	μὴ ὦραν
Ariphr.	1.	6	ἦ εἰ

Where a vowel has already been elided from the first word, the two words are to a certain degree united into one. This union is not so complete as that effected by crasis, but seems to have been sufficient to prevent hiatus being felt when the elided word still ended in a vowel, as in O. 2. 41 *ὄξει' Ἐρινός*. These cases, which are not infrequent<sup>1</sup>, require no discussion.

<sup>1</sup> Some 86 in melic poetry, somewhat more frequent in Homer.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS  
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 35-94

January 31, 1905

---

STUDIES IN THE SI-CLAUSE.

BY  
H. C. NUTTING.

---

I.—CONCESSIVE SI-CLAUSES IN PLAUTUS.

In general the hypotactic concessive period may be defined as a complex sentence which brings together clauses of such a nature that the assertion in the conclusion might naturally seem to the hearer to be incompatible with the state of affairs referred to in the concessive clause; *e.g.*,

Rud. 1353 ff.;

Si maxume mihi illum reddiderit vidulum,

Non ego illic hodie debeo triobolum.

Among the concessive periods of Plautus introduced by *si* and its compounds there is a large and striking class distinguished from the others by the *grade*, so to speak, of the concessive clause. To differentiate this group from what may be styled the simple (or normal) type I suggest the name "intensive." The simple type of concessive clause (as distinguished from the intensive) is characterized by the fact that it goes no further than is demanded by the situation—it simply recognizes a state of affairs (real or supposed) that has in some way been suggested to the mind of the speaker; as, for instance,

Men. 746 ff.;

Si me derides, at pol illum non potes,

Patrem meum.

Ps. 290 ff.;

Egon patri subrupere possim quicquam, tam cauto seni?

Atque adeo, si facere possim, pietas prohibet.

In neither of these passages does the concessive clause exceed the demands of the situation. In the first case the speaker refers to an obvious fact when she says *Si me derides*; for Menaechmus has been treating her in a manner anything but respectful. In the other the phrase *si facere possim* takes up a supposed possibility.

The intensive concessive clause on the other hand purposely exaggerates the state of affairs suggested to the speaker, *e.g.*,

Asin. 403 ff.;

LI. Atque hercle ipsum adeo contuor: quassanti capite incedit.

Quisque obviam huic ocesserit irato, vapulabit.

ME. Siquidem hercle *Aeacidinis minis animisque expletus* cedit,

Si med iratus tetigerit, iratus vapulabit.

In this passage the mercator might have been content to confine himself to the reported fact, thus producing a simple concessive period "Though he comes on in anger, he will get a beating if he touches me." But this is too tame an expression for his emphatic mood, and he flies to the extreme of the improbable or impossible—though Leonida comes on (not merely angry but) *filled with the boldness and courage of Achilles*, he will get a beating. Another case of the same kind is

Tri. 1184 ff.;

CH. Quamquam tibi suscensui,

Miseria una (*i.e.*, one wife) uni quidem hominist adfatim.

CA. Immo huic parumst.

Nam si pro peccatis *centum* ducat uxoris, parumst.

Here *centum* very obviously caps *una* of the preceding line. It is this gratuitous exaggeration that is the characteristic feature of the intensive type. Concessive periods belonging to this category are generally easily recognized when once the peculiarity of the type has been noted, though of course occasionally sentences are met with which are hard to classify.

The intensive concessive period is interesting from both the stylistic and the syntactical point of view. It is a form of speech common in dialogue, its most distinctive use being in emphatic

rejoinder. With Plautus it is a distinct mannerism; about one-third of all the concessive clauses in his plays introduced by *si* and its compounds belong to this class. The present paper deals particularly with the syntactical aspects of the case. In the pages immediately following, the concessive periods introduced by *si* and each of its compounds are presented separately, the sentences falling within the several groups being examined with reference to the distinction just made of simple and intensive. Some points of minor interest are noted in passing, but the more important questions suggested by the syntactical form of the intensive concessive period are reserved for discussion at the end, after all the material has been presented.

### SI.

It is quite impossible to determine the exact number of concessive *si*-clauses in Plautus. In many cases the nature of a clause depends upon the point of view of the speaker, and there is no objective test by which to settle the question definitely. Excluding the more doubtful examples, I still find 88 *si*-clauses that seem to deserve the name concessive. This exceeds the estimate of Kriege,<sup>1</sup> who puts the number at 66.

#### A.—Simple.

Amph. 908;

Si dixi, nilo magis es neque ego esse arbitror.

Capt. 12;

Si non ubi sedeas locus est, est ubi ambules.

Cist. 27 ff.;

Si idem istud nos faciamus si idem imitemur, ita tamen vix  
vivimus

Cum invidia summa.

Mil. 631;

Si albicapillus hic videtur, ne utiquam ab ingeniosior senex.

Most. 42 ff.;

Non omnes possunt olere unguenta exotica,

Si tu oles.

Rud. 1400;

Non hercle istoc me intervortes, si aliam praedam perdidisti.

---

<sup>1</sup> De enuntiatis concessivis apud Plautum et Terentium. Halle, 1884, p. 4.



Tri. 485 ff. ;

Semper tu hoc facito, Lesbonice, cogites,

Id optimum esse tute uti sis optimum.

Si id nequeas, saltem ut optimis sis proximus.

Tri. 507 ff. ;

Sed si haec res graviter cecidit stultitia mea,

Philto, est ager sub urbe hic nobis.

Truc. 854 ff. ;

Blitea et luteast meretrix nisi quae sapit in vino ad rem suam :

Si alia membra vino madeant, cor sit saltem sobrium.

For other cases see Asin. 603 ff., 933, Aul. 254, Bacch. 179, 365, 887, 1013 ff., 1193 ff., Capt. 223 ff., 683 ff., 742 ff., Cas. 298, 314 ff., Cist. 67, 152 ff., Ep. 599, Men. 670, 746, Merc. 636, 819 ff., Mil. 298, 306 ff., 747, Most. 914, Poen. 51, 374, Ps. 290 ff., Rud. 159, 1014, 1075, 1353 ff., St. 43 ff., Tri. 85 ff., 465, 607, Truc, 66 ff., 615, 833, 877. Total, 48.

Some of these simple concessive periods are a mere optional form of expression for a thought that might have been conveyed by two coördinate clauses joined by an adversative conjunction. Such a case is Mil. 631 (quoted above in full) ; there the speaker, had he so elected, might have expressed his thought in the following form :

“He looks gray, but in spirit he is by no means old.”

A more striking, and, at first sight, apparently unwarranted use of the form of a hypothetical concessive period appears in passages like

Truc. 613 ff. ;

STR. Verbum unum adde istoc: iam hercle ego te hic hac offatim offigam.

CV. Tange modo: iam ego te hic agnum faciam et medium distruncabo.

Si tu ad legionem bellator clues, at ego in culina clueo.

In this last line the form of the first clause is easily justified, but the words *at ego in culina clueo*, taken at their face value, do not complete the meaning of a concessive period. There is, it is true, an antithesis between the two clauses ; but a genuine concessive period involves something more than mere antithesis—

there is an incompatibility between the subject matter of the two clauses such that the hearer is surprised at the statement in the conclusion; for the state of affairs here mentioned would naturally seem to be precluded by that referred to in the concessive clause: as in the typical sentence first quoted,

Rud. 1353 ff.;

Si maxume mihi illum reddiderit vidulum,

Non ego illic hodie debeo triobolum.

In the sentence under discussion, as it stands, this element of incompatibility appears to be lacking; whatever the amount of warlike fame possessed by Stratophanes, there is nothing whatever surprising in the claim of Cuamus that he is a famous performer in the kitchen.

If we must take the words *at ego in culina clueo* at their bare face value, the probable explanation of a sentence of this sort is that the line between simple antithesis and antithesis with incompatibility is not always sharply drawn; in this way it might occasionally happen that clauses which were merely antithetical would be strung along in the form of a hypotactic concessive sentence. On the other hand, it is quite possible that in the conclusion of a sentence like Truc. 615 the speaker is not expressing himself fully, and that the underlying thought contains all the elements of a genuine concessive period. For instance, the meaning in this particular case might be "Though you are famed for valor in the army, (you need not try to frighten me, for) I am a famous performer in the kitchen." In the line that precedes the passage quoted, Cumamus has shown that his performances in the kitchen include the handling of knives, thus helping us to fill out what (if this interpretation be correct) he leaves unexpressed in 615. This second explanation is a very attractive one, and is the more justified because such abbreviation in verbal expression as is here assumed is no rarity in language generally.<sup>2</sup> With Truc. 615 may be compared

Bacch. 364 ff.;

Si ero reprehensus, macto ego illum infortunio:

Si illi sunt virgae ruri, at mihi tergum domist.

<sup>2</sup> American Journal of Philology, XXIV, p. 294. Cf. Lindskog, *De enuntiatibus apud Plautum et Terentium condicionalibus*, Lundae, 1895, p. 103 ff.

Bacch. 885 ff.:

Quid illum morte territas?

Et ego te et ille mactamus infortunio.

Si tibist machaera, at nobis veruinast domi.

Rud. 1014;

Si tu proreta isti navi's, ego gubernator ero.

### B.—Intensive.

The most striking thing about the examples that fall under this heading is that, in more than half of the cases, the intensive force centers around some other word (or phrase) than the verb. As in the following;

Asin. 413 ff.;

LI. Hic me moratust.

LE. Siquidem hercle nunc *summum Iovem* te dicas detinuisse  
Atque is precator adsiet, malam rem effugies numquam.

Aul. 98 ff.;

Profecto in aedes meas me absente neminem  
Volo intromitti. Atque etiam hoc praedico tibi:  
Si *Bona Fortuna* veniat, ne intromiseris.

Aul. 555 ff.;

Quos si *Argus* servet qui oculus totus fuit,  
Quem quondam Ioni Iuno custodem addidit,  
Is numquam servet.

Bacch. 128;

Qui si *decem* habeas linguas, mutum esse addecet.

Bacch. 697;

Quem si orem ut mihi *nil* credat, id non ausit credere.

Men. 751;

Idem hercle dicam, si *avom* vis adducere.

Mil. 803 ff.;

Non potuit reperire, si *ipsi Soli* quaerendas dares  
Lepidioris duas ad hanc rem quam ego.

Other similar cases are Amph. 1048 ff., Asin. 318 ff., 405 ff., Bacch. 1045 ff., 1102 ff., Cas. 93 ff., Cist. 3 ff., Curc. 211, Men. 238 ff., Merc. 838 ff., Mil. 188, Most. 115 ff., 912 ff., Rud. 1361, St. 287, Tri. 884 ff., 962, 1185 ff.; cf. Truc. 527 ff. Total, 25 cases.

In these sentences the fact that the intensive force centers about some other word or words than the verb affords an interesting illustration of the general principle that it is not always the verb that is the essential and characteristic feature of a *si*-clause. As a matter of fact, in some of the above examples all other elements of the concessive clause are so unimportant that, without loss to the sense, they could drop away, leaving the phrase about which the intensive force centers to be incorporated in the conclusion, *e.g.*,

Aul. 100;

Si *Bona Fortuna* veniat, ne intromiseris.

In the lines which precede in this passage the speaker has been giving general directions that no visitor be admitted to the house during his absence. He would therefore have been perfectly well understood had he said simply, Ne *Bonam Fortunam* intromiseris, *i.e.*, "Don't let even *Good Fortune* in."<sup>3</sup>

In this connection, as also showing the importance of the rôle played in the concessive clause by the words about which the intensive force centers, should be mentioned sentences such as

Amph. 1051 ff.;

Neque me *Iuppiter* neque *di omnes* id prohibebunt, si volent,  
Quin sic faciam uti constitui.

Most. 351;

Nec *Salus* nobis saluti iam esse, si cupiat, potest.

It will be seen at once that each of these sentences contains all the elements that go to make up an intensive concessive period like those under discussion. But the elements are differently arranged here—the *si*-clause comes late in the sentence, leaving the words about which the intensive force centers in a natural emphatic position.<sup>4</sup> As the sentences stand, *si volent* and *si cupiat* are not only not of the intensive type, but it may even be

<sup>3</sup> This matter is more fully discussed in the *American Journal of Philology*, XXI, p. 260 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Other examples may be found at Aul. 311, Capt. 529, Cas. 324. Cf. Asin. 153 ff., 237, 894 ff.

questioned whether they are concessive at all.<sup>5</sup> Yet we have only to rearrange the elements that go to make up (*e.g.*) Most. 351 in such a way that the word about which the intensive force centers shall fall within the *si*-clause, to produce an intensive concessive period exactly like those with which the discussion started—*Si Salus nobis saluti esse cupiat*, etc.<sup>6</sup> It is therefore easy to see how important a factor in the concessive clauses of the type under discussion are the words about the intensive force centers.<sup>7</sup>

The remaining concessive sentences of the intensive type are Amph. 450 ff., Bacch. 1004, Curc. 3 ff., 449 ff., Ep. 610 ff., Men. 1060 ff., Merc. 694 ff., Most. 229 ff., 241, Pers. 40 ff., 282 ff., Ps. 87, 265 ff., 792 ff., Truc. 315 ff.; cf. Merc. 595 ff. Total, 15 cases.

Here the intensive force tends to gravitate toward the verb, but it seldom centers exclusively at that point; more often it is diffused throughout the whole clause; *e.g.*,

Amph. 450 ff.;

ME. Quo te agis? SO. Domum. ME. *Quadrigas si nunc inscendas Iovis*

Atque hinc fugias, ita vix poteris effugere infortunium.

Ps. 264 ff.;

PS. Potin ut semel modo, Ballio, huc cum lucro respicias?

BA. Respiciam istoc pretio: nam si *sacrificem summo Iovi*

*Atque in manibus exta teneam ut poriciam*, interea loci

Si lucri quid detur, potius rem divinam deseram.

This last is a very striking case. Ballio has up to this time declined to parley on the plea of business. But at the magic word *pretium* he is ready not only to forego business, but he would stop even if he were sacrificing—and that too to mighty Jove, and at the very critical point of the sacrifice; each of these specifications contributes to the intensive force.

<sup>5</sup> Kriege (l.c.) includes such sentences without comment as concessive. But it may be noted that Plautus never uses the (distinctively concessive) compounds of *si*, *e.g.*, *etiam si* or *tametsi* in such a case, though he does employ these compounds when the sentence is so arranged that the words about which the intensive force centers fall within the limits of the subordinate clause.

<sup>6</sup> Such a case occurs in Ter. Adel. 761 ff.

<sup>7</sup> In this connection it should perhaps be further noted that in a few intensive concessive periods the emphatic words or a substitute appear also in the conclusion; *e.g.*, St. 287; *Si rex obstabit obviam, regem ipsum prius pervortito*.

## ETSI. 26 cases.

## A.—Simple.

In the examples that fall under this heading the nature of the sentence is generally so evident that it will be sufficient to quote only the *etsi*-clauses, omitting the conclusions.

Aul. 421; *etsi taceas.*

Bacch. 1160; *etsi . . . prope scire puto me.*

Bacch. 1191; *etsist dedecori.*

Capt. 543 ff.; *etsi ego domi liber fui, Tu . . . servitutem servisti.*

Capt. 744; *etsi aliter ut dicam meres.*

Capt. 842; *etsi nil scio quod gaudeam.*

Cas. 958; *etsi malum merui.*

Mil. 407; *etsi vidi.*

Mil. 532; *etsi east.*

Most. 666; *etsi procul abest.*<sup>a</sup>

Most. 854; *etsi non metuendast.*

Pers. 272; *etsi properas.*

Pers. 601 ff.; *etsi mihi Dixit . . .*

Pers. 655; *etsi res sunt fractae.*

Poen. 1084; *etsi hic habitabit.*

Ps. 1113; *etsi abest.*

Rud. 1044; *etsi ignotust.*

Rud. 1350; *etsi tu fidem servaveris.*

Tri. 383; *etsi advorsatus tibi fui.*

Tri. 474; *etsi votet.*

Tri. 527; *etsi scelestus est.*

Tri. 593 ff.; *etsi admodum In ambiguo*st . . .

Tri. 600; *etsi odi hanc domum.*

Truc. 815; *etsi tu taceas.*

## B.—Intensive.

There remain but two cases to come under this head; both belong to the second type of intensives described, *i.e.*, the verb is the center of intensity or else the intensity is distributed throughout the clause.

<sup>a</sup> In the edition of Goetz and Schoell this line is placed between 609 and 610.

Capt. 854 ff.;

HE. Nec nil hodie nec multo plus tu hic edes, ne frustra sis:  
Proin tu tui cottidiani victi ventrem ad me adferas.

ERG. Quin ita faciam, ut tute cupias facere sumptum, etsi  
ego vetem.

Vid. 106 ff.;

malo hunc adligari ad horiam

Ut semper piscetur, etsi sit tempestas maxima.

In passing, the exceeding brevity of the *etsi*-clause may be noted;  
20 of the 26 clauses do not exceed four words each.

#### TAMETSI. 16 cases.

##### A.—Simple.

For the cases that fall under this heading the material may  
be presented in the same way as for *etsi*.

Amph. 21 ff.; tametsi . . . Scibat.

Amph. 977; tametsi praesens non ades.

Aul. 768; tam etsi<sup>9</sup> fur mihi's.

Capt. 321; tametsi unicus sum.

Cure. 259; tam etsi non novi.

Cure. 504; tam etsi nil fecit.

Mil. 744; tam etsi dominus non invitatus patitur.

Pers. 362; tam etsi id futurum non est.

Poen. 342; tam etsi in abstruso sitast.

Poen. 1201; tametsi sumus servae.

Ps. 244; tametsi occupatu's.

Ps. 471; tam etsi tibi suscenseo.

St. 41; tam etsi's maior.

St. 205; tam etsi hercle . . . iudico.

##### B.—Intensive.

Men. 92;

Numquam hercle effugiet, tam etsi *capital* fecerit.

Tri. 679;

Facilest inventu: datur ignis, tam etsi ab *inimico* petas.

---

<sup>9</sup> *Tametsi* is here written as one word or two, according to the reading  
of the Goetz-Schoell edition.

Though the number of intensive cases is the same as for *etsi*, the smaller sum total renders the proportion larger. There is also the further difference that these cases are of the type first described—the intensive force centers about some other word or words than the verb. Though not so striking, the brevity of the *tametsi*-clause also deserves notice; 10 of the 16 examples do not exceed four words.

#### ETIAM SI. 2 cases.<sup>10</sup>

Ep. 518 ff.;

immo etiam si *alterum*

*Tantum* perdundumst, perdam potius quam sinam

Me inpune irrisum esse.

Ps. 626 ff.;

PS. Mihi hercle vero, qui res rationesque eri

Ballionis curo, argentum accepto et quoi debet dato.

HA. Si quidem hercle etiam *supremi* promptas thensauros  
*Iovis*

Tibi libellam argenti numquam credam.

Both these cases are intensives of the first type—the intensive force centers elsewhere than around the verb. In the second case the resolution *si . . . etiam* is precisely parallel to *εἰ . . . καὶ* and “If . . . even;” in translating the sentence the last named phrase might be used to advantage. In general, intensives of the first type (however introduced in Latin) can be rendered by “Though . . . even” and “If . . . even;” in this way we have something more than stress of voice to mark the center of intensive force.

In view of the very restricted and clearly defined use of *etiam si*, it is inexact, when dealing with the language of Plautus, to make the phrase *si* = *etiam si* a substitute for saying that a given *si*-clause is concessive. Sonnenschein makes such a note on

Rud. 1400;

Non hercle istoc me intervortes, si aliam praedam perdidi.

The real parallel to this *si*-clause is the *etsi*-clause, as will be at

<sup>10</sup> Cas. 806 also shows the combination *etiam si*, but the passage is manifestly corrupt.



once evident if it be compared with the examples quoted under that heading: the parallelism is complete, even to the number of words in the clause.

TAMEN SI.<sup>2</sup> 2 cases.

Cas. 795:

Qui amat, tamen hercle si esurit, nullum esurit.

St. 27 ff.:

Tamen si faciet, minime irasci

Decet: neque id immerito eveniet.

Both of these are simple concessive periods.

TAMEN ETSI.<sup>3</sup> 2 cases.<sup>3</sup>

MIL 1209 ff.:

Postremo tamen

Etsi istuc mihi acerbumst, quia ero te earendumst optatum.

Saltem id volup est quom . . .

Mest. 1167:

TH. Verberibus, lutum, cadere pendens. TR. Tamen etsi pudet!

These two cases are also simple concessive periods.

It now remains to consider two general syntactical peculiarities brought to light by a division of concessive clauses according as they are simple or intensive. First as to introductory particle: the usage of Plautus can be conveniently examined in the following summary.

	si	etsi	tamen	etiam si	tamen si	tamen etsi	Totals
Simple	45	24	14	0	2	2	87
Intensive	4	1	2	2	1	1	11
Totals	49	25	16	2	3	3	98

It will be seen that *si* has been used as the introductory particle in 45 of the 87 simple concessive periods, and in 43 of the 46

<sup>2</sup> Krieger (1. n.) does not recognize this compound.

<sup>3</sup> Krieger (1. n.) raises this number four by including Cas. 898 and Plaut. 1. 64. These cases are here enumerated under *tamen*, *tamen* being assigned to the *etiam* group.

intensive. The overwhelming preponderance of *si* in sentences of the intensive type presents an interesting problem. Apparently the key to the situation lies in the fact that, from the subjective point of view, concessive clauses in general fall into two distinct categories; by the use of such a clause the speaker may (*a*) concede *that a thing is really true*, or (*b*) concede it *for the sake of argument*, or the like. As in the following examples:

(*a*)

Cas. 957 ff.;

vapulo herele ego invitus tamen,

Etsi malum merui.

(*b*)

Bacch. 1004;

Nam ego non laturus sum, si iubeas maxume.

Bacch. 128;

Qui si decem habeas linguas, mutum esse addecet.

In the first of these passages *etsi malum merui* is scarcely more than a statement of fact; without altering the sense it could be made such by so rearranging the sentence as to give it first place. But in the cases that fall under (*b*) there is a totally different state of affairs; the concessive clause is a mere supposition, and, as such, is closely allied to the pure conditional clause;<sup>13</sup> for in both the speaker is equally lacking in assurance of realization in fact. Therefore if *si*—a word whose distinctive function it is to introduce pure conditional clauses—is also to do duty anywhere as a concessive particle, clearly it is in concessive clauses of this second variety that we should expect to find it most freely used—and such in fact is the case. The overwhelming preponderance of *si* in sentences of the intensive type is but an illustration of the workings of this general principle; for in them the concessive clause by its very nature is a mere supposition—its essential characteristic being that it far exceeds the facts of the case, often flying to the extreme of the improbable or the impossible; *e.g.*,

Asin. 414: Siquidem herele nunc summum Iovem te dicas detinuisse.

Aul. 100: Si Bona Fortuna veniat.

Bacch. 697: Quem si orem ut mihi nil credat.

Men. 751: si avom vis adducere.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. American Journal of Philology, XXIV, p. 279 ff.

Looked at from this point of view, the large use of *si* in sentences of the intensive type ceases to be surprising.

The fact that *si* introduces 48 of the 90 simple concessive periods does not perhaps seem to call so loudly for explanation, but it may be noted in passing that this ratio completes the illustration of the general principle above noted with reference to the use of *si*. A simple concessive period may be of either of the varieties above designated as (*a*) and (*b*). *Si* introduces practically all that are mere suppositions, and has found its way to a considerable extent into clauses that admit a fact, leaving the larger share of these latter however for its more distinctively concessive compounds.

In the following table the concessive clauses are again classified, this time with reference to the mood of the verb. The totals differ slightly from those of the other table because, for the present purpose, it was necessary to exclude doubtful forms, such, for instance, as those in *-am*.

		si	etsi	tametsi	etiam si	tamen si	tamen etsi	Totals
Simple	{ indie.	30	20	14	0	2	2	68
	{ subj.	15	2	0	0	0	0	17—85
Intensive	{ indie.	10	0	0	2	0	0	12
	{ subj.	29	2	1	0	0	0	32—44
Totals		84	24	15	2	2	2	129

It here appears that in sentences of the simple concessive type the proportion of indicative to subjunctive is 68:17, while for the intensive type it is 12:32. The reason for this remarkable variation is doubtless to be found along the line of the distinction just drawn between those concessive clauses that admit a fact and those which are mere suppositions. A concessive clause that admits a fact is closely akin to a statement, and naturally takes the indicative;<sup>14</sup> whereas those which betray a lack of assurance about realization in fact (and are thus closely allied to conditional speaking) use sometimes one mood, sometimes the other—much as so many conditional clauses might do. From this point of view the meaning of the ratio of indicative to subjunctive

(68:17) for the simple concessive periods begin to appear; for, as above noted, we have here to do both with clauses that admit a fact and with those that are mere suppositions. The (very numerous) cases that admit a fact count solidly on the indicative side of the ratio, whereas the mere suppositions contribute a reasonable number to each member of the proportion. Under these circumstances a heavy preponderance of the indicative is just the thing to be expected in the totals.<sup>15</sup>

The ratio of indicative to subjunctive (12:32) in the intensive periods cannot be explained so simply. Of course, we should expect to find both moods fairly well represented, for (as already shown) the intensive concessive clause is by its very nature a mere supposition, and would therefore in general follow the rules for mood in pure conditions. But this is not a full explanation of the ratio 12:32; for in conditional sentences Plautus uses the indicative on the average much more frequently than he does the subjunctive. The intensive concessive clause however is something more than a mere colorless supposition—it is generally a very wild and improbable one. Apparently it is this peculiarity that turns the scale so heavily in favor of the subjunctive.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> I am speaking here only of the language of Plautus, and in particular of the concessive clauses introduced by *si* and its compounds. Such a statement would not of course apply to a developed construction like the subjunctive *cum*-clause in concessive periods of Cicero's time.

<sup>16</sup> In this connection it may be noted that the *etsi*- and *tametsi*-clauses almost always concede a fact. The conventional rule for mood with these particles quite disregards this basis of explanation for the use of the indicative.

<sup>17</sup> This point is further considered in the following paper. See p. 88 ff.

## STUDIES IN THE SI-CLAUSE.

II.—SUBJUNCTIVE PROTASIS WITH INDICATIVE  
APODOSIS IN PLAUTUS.<sup>1</sup>

In this paper the phrase "subjunctive protasis with indicative apodosis" is used in the broad sense in which it is commonly understood—that is, as including all sentences whose subordinate clause chances to be introduced by *si*, irrespective of the exact nature of the underlying thought. The argument throughout is based on sentences which employ undoubted forms of the subjunctive and indicative; those containing forms in *-am*, *-ar*, etc., could only bring an element of uncertainty into the discussion, and the material fortunately is abundant without them.<sup>2</sup>

## 1.—PURE CONDITIONAL SENTENCES.

As a preliminary to the detailed study of the sentences of this group, attention may properly be called to the somewhat undeveloped state of the language in the time of Plautus. With regard to this two points are of interest for the present discussion.

In the first place, the uses of the subjunctive and the indicative were not in general so carefully differentiated as at a later period. For example, *ita me di amabunt* and *ita me amabit Iuppiter* are used freely alongside of *ita me di ament*. Again, take the deliberative question:

<sup>1</sup> See the Classical Review, Vol. XVII, p. 449 ff., for a critique of the work of Lilié, Lebreton and Lodge and the later theory of Blase on this subject. Blase's earlier view will be found in *De modorum temporumque in enuntiatis condicionalibus Latinis permutatione*, Dissertationes Philologicae Argentoratenses, Vol. X, p. 94 (38) ff. Cf. Langen, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Plautus*, p. 43 ff. The subject is treated indirectly by Lindskog, *De enuntiatis apud Plautum et Terentium condicionalibus*, Lundae 1895, and by O. Brugmann, *Über den Gebrauch des condicionalen Ni in der älteren Latinität*, Leipzig, 1887. There are also many other scattered references. Since this was written I have received Blase's prog. *Studien und Kritiken zur lateinischen Syntax*, I Theil, Mainz, 1904, the latter part of which touches the following discussion at several points.

<sup>2</sup> The following cases also have little value for the present discussion because the subjunctive of the *si*-clause may be due to dependence on an infinitive or the like: *Amph.* 675, *Aul.* 228, 320, *Bacch.* 1193 ff., *Ps.* 1033 ff., and *St.* 112.

Ter. Phor. 736-37:

CH. Quid ago?

SO. qui est eius pater. CH. *Adeo, maneo*, dum . . . cognosco?

Ter. And. 639:

Sed quid agam? *adeamne* ad eum et . . . *expostulem*?<sup>3</sup>

Finally might be cited cases of remarkable variation of mood in conditional sentences; *e.g.*;

Ps. 1070 ff.:

Roga me viginti minas,  
si ille hodie illa *sit potitus* muliere  
sive eam tuo gnato hodie, ut promisit, *dabit*.

Amph. 703 ff.:

Bacchae bacchanti si velis advorsarier,  
ex insana insaniorem *facies*, *feriet* saepius:  
si obsequare, una *resolvas* plaga.<sup>4</sup>

It is possible that the very considerable middle ground afforded by forms belonging to both the subjunctive and the indicative (*e.g.*, those in *-am*, *-ar*, *-eris*, etc.) tended to delay a sharp differentiation between the uses of the two mood systems.

In the second place, in Plautus' day grammatical conceptions were neither so symmetrical nor so clearly defined as at a later time. This is shown in an interesting way in such contrary to fact sentences as the following:

Aul. 523-24:

*Compellarem* ego illum, ni *metuam* ne desinat  
memorare mores mulierum: nunc sic sinam.

Bacch. 635:

PI. Si mihi sit, *polliccar*. MN. Scio, *dares*: novi.

Poen. 1251-52:

primum, si id fieri *possit*,  
ne indigna indignis dei darent, id ego evenire *vellem*.

St. 510-11:

*Vocem* ego te ad me ad cenam, frater tuos nisi *dixisset* mihi

<sup>3</sup> So also *quid ago?* and *quid agam?* in Ter. Phor. 447 and Hec. 715.

<sup>4</sup> With these might be compared Cist. 683 ff. (*si nemo praeteriit, iaceret*) and Rud. 744 (*iam tanta esset, si vivit*).

te apud se cenaturum esse hodie, quom me ad se ad cenam vocat.

Truc. 830:

Nam vinum si fabulari *possit*, se *defenderet*.<sup>5</sup>

Such combinations of forms as here occur we can readily understand, for just at this time the contrary to fact idea was discarding the present (and perfect) subjunctive, finding in the imperfect and pluperfect a more distinctive and satisfactory form of expression; but that the two forms should be mingled within the limits of a single sentence betrays a lack of keen appreciation for symmetrical sentence structure.

These two characteristics of early Latin distinctly favored the frequent occurrence of subjunctive protasis with indicative apodosis. For the failure to differentiate clearly between the use of subjunctive and indicative forms in general must have affected also the choice of mood in the clauses of conditional sentences—in some cases, so far as meaning is concerned, there was doubtless little to choose between the two moods; and to a writer whose ideas of symmetrical sentence structure were somewhat undeveloped the pairing of different moods in the clauses of a conditional sentence probably did not appear to be such a striking irregularity as it seems when viewed from a later standpoint.<sup>6</sup> The many examples however in which Plautus uses the same mood in both clauses show clearly that he had a fairly strong conception of this procedure as the norm. This fact is by no means lost sight of in the following discussion, but on the other hand it is not there accorded the undue prominence sometimes given it.<sup>7</sup>

So many cases falling under the head of the pure conditional sentence have forms of *posse* in apodosis that I venture to treat

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Capt. 711-12, Cist. 3 ff. and Cure. 226 ff. A somewhat similar lack of symmetry in the matter of sequence of tenses is noted by Brix on Mil. 131; cf. Asin. 589-90 and Capt. 28.

<sup>6</sup> This statement may not be put aside with the remark that the language of Plautus is colloquial. For the colloquial style, as well as others, was profoundly affected by the development of the language up to the time of Cicero; see Lebreton, *Études sur la Langue et la Grammaire de Cicéron*. Introd. p. x ff. espc. xv. Further, some may be surprised to learn from the tables of Lebreton and Blase that there are more cases of the form *si sit—est (erit)* in Cicero's orations than in his letters; see L. p. 364 and cf. p. 349.

<sup>7</sup> See Langen, l. c. p. 50 fn.

them separately. Being somewhat simpler, they are presented first under A, while the remaining sentences appear later under B.

#### A.—Posse (Potis) in Apodosis.

The material falling under this heading may be subdivided on the basis of tense.

##### (a). Sentences of the form *si sit*—*potest*.

This group furnishes examples of three different types.

##### 1. Unconditioned ability.

Cure. 268-69:

*Siquidem incubare velint qui periuraverint,  
locus non praeberi potis est in Capitolio.*

Mil. 763-64:

*Haud centesumam  
partem dixi atque, otium rei si sit, possum expromere.*

In the first of these examples the inability of the Capitoline to provide accommodation for all perjurers is not in any way dependent on their wish to find a resting place within its limits; and in the second the speaker's fund of information is a fact uninfluenced by the truth or falsity of the condition. This state of affairs makes it possible to provide a very satisfactory explanation of the form of the sentences. For as the speaker comes to the apodosis he may realize that the ability of which he means to speak is not dependent on the fulfillment of the condition, and he is therefore free to state that ability as unconditioned. I say free to do so, because in so doing he is using a form of expression which in a way includes and implies what *could* be done under the supposed circumstances—that is, includes and implies the logically exact apodosis.

Though there is no absolutely certain case, still a survey of the material leaves a strong impression that sometimes Plautus carries this process a step further and ventures to substitute an all inclusive statement of unconditioned ability where the logical apodosis is *would* rather than *could*. Such an example may be

Cist. 308:

*Adhinnire equolam possum ego hanc, si detur sola soli.*



If this be the true explanation of the sentence, a close parallel is afforded by the following case in which, after an indicative condition, the speakers substitute for an assertion of what they *will* do a statement of what they *are wont* to do—the latter in a way including and implying the former:

Poen. 516-17:

Si nec recte dicis nobis dives de summo loco.  
divitem audacter *solemus* mactare infortunio.

## 2. Conditioned ability.

Curc. 246-47:

*Potin* coniecturam facere, si narrem tibi  
haec nocte quod ego somniavi dormiens!

In this case the ability to make a guess seems clearly dependent on being provided with the necessary data, and at the same time the phrasing of the sentence shows that the speaker had the *si*-clause in mind when he uttered the apodosis; for *Potin coniecturam facere* taken alone is manifestly incomplete. Here then it seems that the speaker can have in mind only conditioned ability, and the use of the indicative cannot therefore be justified in the same way as in the sentences treated under the preceding heading. The explanation which suggests itself most readily is the modality of the verb, and if we were dealing with a later writer there would be little more to say on the subject. But since in Plautus (as will soon appear) it is not always a modal verb that is used in the apodosis of sentences like the one under discussion, we ought perhaps to recognize here also a further circumstance which favored the use of the indicative, namely, the somewhat undeveloped state of the language at this time. This undeveloped state, it will be remembered, betrays itself in the tendency to fail to distinguish sharply between the use of subjunctive and indicative forms, and in the tolerance of unsymmetrical sentence structure. Such a state of affairs makes the use of the indicative of the modal verb a still more simple matter. How easy it was for Plautus to use that mood of *posse* we may perhaps judge fairly from the following passages, in which he shifts from one mood to the other:

Asin 878 ff.:

PA. *Possis* si forte accubantem tuom virum conspexeris  
cum corona amplexum amicam, si videas cognoscere?

ART. *Possum* ecastor.

Merc. 517 ff.:

LY. Sed quid ais, Pasicompsa?

*possin* tu, si ussus venerit, subtemen tenue nere?

PA. *Possum*.

### 3. Anacoluthon.

Rud. 566:

Vel ego amare utramvis possum—si probe adpotus siem.

When such a sentence as this is a true index of what is passing in the mind of the speaker, he enunciates the first clause as a complete statement of fact. Then it flashes through his mind that the act or state in question is subject to a condition of which he has not previously thought, and this he adds, rather lamely at times, allowing the hearer to correct the preceding statement of fact just as his own thought has been corrected. Syntactically the effect is the same when, as seems to be the case here, the speaker has his whole sentence planned from the beginning, but purposely deceives the hearer by his enunciation of the first clause that he may raise a laugh by bringing in the second as a surprise. In either case the *si*-clause is really part of another sentence, and uses the mood required by the laws of conditional sentences generally, without reference to the mood of the verb in the clause which precedes.<sup>8</sup>

The remaining examples of the form *si sit*—*potest* are as follows:

Asin. 164:

Solus si ductem, referre gratiam numquam *potes*.

Aul. 557 ff.:

praeterea tibicinam

quae mi interbibere sola, si vino scatat,

Corinthiensem fontem Pirenem *potest*.

<sup>8</sup>In the example under discussion the flexibility of meaning due to the modality of *posse* tends to make the anacoluthon less harsh. But in the next main division (B) where the non-modal verbs appear, cases will be found in which there is no such mitigating circumstance.

Bacch. 479-80:

Nulla pacto res mandata *potest* agi, nisi identidem  
manus<sup>†</sup> ferat ad papillas, labra a labris nusquam auferat?

Most. 351:

Nec Salus nobis saluti iam esse, si cupiat, *potest*.

Poen. 351:

Sei sapias, eunam hanc facere compendi *potes*.

Poen. 564:

Illum ut perdant facere *possum*, si velim.

Tri. 55 ff.:

si id non feceris,

atque id tamen mihi lubeat suspicari.

qui tu id prohibere me *potes* ne suspicer!

All these cases may be brought under the three headings above specified. Different persons however might hold diverse views as to the heading under which a given case should be brought: but this fact has no bearing on the present discussion, my aim being simply to single out the various distinguishable types and to show what explanations of the phenomenon of subjunctive protasis with indicative apodosis are suited to the peculiarities of each. I may however say that anacoluthon is a basis of explanation to be sparingly used: for a speaker usually has his whole sentence in mind before the first word is uttered—even when in the course of his thought the condition does not come first.<sup>9</sup> The clearest cases of anacoluthon are deliberately planned surprises like *Rad.* 566.

b. Sentences of the form si sit esset — *potuit*.

Cure. 226 ff.:

Adferre argentum credo. Nam si non ferat,  
tormento non retineri *potuit* ferro  
quin reciperet se huc esum ad praesepe suam.

Most. 462:

Quo modo pultare *potui*, si non tangerem!

These are both cases of the second type, the inability of the apodosis being clearly felt as dependent on the truth of the protasis. The explanation would therefore be again the modality of the verb and the undeveloped state of the language. In *Cure.* 226 ff. the disparity between *ferat* and *potuit* is specially striking.

<sup>9</sup> See *Classical Review*, I. c. p. 452.

## B.—Other Verbs in Apodosis.

## (a). Sentences of the form si sit—est.

## 1. Unconditioned act or state.

Merc. 430:

At ego si velim, iam *dantur* septem et viginti minae.

Rud. 1020 ff.:

Numqui minus

si veniat nunc dominus quouiust, ego qui inspectavi procul  
te hunc habere, fur *sum* quam tu?

In the first of these examples *dantur* seems to mean "I am offered"<sup>10</sup>—a fact in no way dependent on the willingness to accept the price, and in the second the participation in the guilty secret is real whether the owner of the property appears or not. The process which produces these sentences seems to be the same as that described in the discussion of the corresponding cases with *posse* in apodosis, namely, that the speaker substitutes for the logical apodosis an unconditioned statement which in a way includes and implies that apodosis; thus *dantur* includes "I might have" and *sum*? "would I be considered?" The difference between these two cases and those with *posse* in apodosis is that here the statement of the fact is not so closely parallel to what is included and implied (there the logical apodosis was "could" or "would," and the statement "can"), and hence the usage is a little harsher.

## 2. Conditioned act or state.

Amph. 891-92:

*Faciundumst* mi illud fieri quod illaec postulat,  
si me illam amantem ad sese studeam recipere.

Cas. 528-29:

AL. Attatae, caedundus tu homo's: nimias delicias facis.

LY. Quid me amare *refert*, nisi sim doctus ac dicaculus?

In the first of these cases the need for action seems dependent on the truth of the condition; at any rate to bring the example under this heading we must assume that the speaker so felt it as he began the sentence. The second case is clear enough, for

<sup>10</sup> As *datur* in Cic. ad Att. II. 18. 3.

obviously *Quid me amare refert* is meant to apply to the contrary to fact state of affairs supposed. If Amph. 891-92 belongs here it is quite like the corresponding examples with *posse* in apodosis, and the form of the sentence is therefore to be explained in the same way, namely on the ground of the modality of the expression and the undeveloped state of the language. In the second case the first part of this explanation is excluded, and we can only say that the use of the indicative is the result of the crude grammatical feeling of the writer.

### 3. Anacoluthon.

Mil. 685-86:

Nam bona uxor suave ductust—si sit usquam gentium,  
ubi ea possit inveniri.

This example corresponds exactly to the case of anacoluthon noted among the cases with *posse* in apodosis, excepting that the effect is not here softened by the presence of a modal verb. Under this heading there are however some sentences which, if so interpreted, call for a more elaborate analysis: *e.g.*,

Poen. 550:

Omnia istaec *scimus* iam nos, si hi spectatores sciant.

In a simple case of anacoluthon like Mil. 685-86 above, the added *si*-clause corrects the preceding statement of fact, warning the hearer that the state of affairs there mentioned is subject to a condition after all. But if Poen. 550 be regarded as a case of anacoluthon, the statement of fact with which the sentence begins is in no way affected by the addition of the *si*-clause. Rather it is the *inference* which the hearer might draw from that statement, namely "you need not tell us" which is corrected.<sup>11</sup>

Other cases of the form *si sit—est* are as follows:

Amph. 336:

Non edepol nunc ubi terrarum sim *scio*, siquis roget.

Capt. 206:

*scimus* nos nostrum officium quod est, si solutos sinat.

<sup>11</sup> This analysis supplies the link, the failure to find which led Langen (l. c. p. 48) to reject the line.

Capt. 259-60:

Neque pol tibi nos, quia nos servas, *aequomst* vitio vortere  
neque te nobis, si abeamus hinc, si fuat occasio.

Capt. 850:

*Scis* bene esse, si sit unde.

Capt. 906:

Nam si alia memorem quae ad ventris victum conducunt,  
*morast.*

Curc. 299:

Recte hic *monstrat*, si imperare possit.

Men. 760:

quas si autumem omnes, nimis longus sermost.

Merc. 497:

*Meliust*, sanus si sis.

Merc. 692-93:

Parumne *est* malai rei quod amat Demipho,  
ni sumptuosus insuper etiam siet?

Mil. 1263:

Non edepol tu illum magis *amas* quam ego, mea, si per te liceat.

Poen. 921:

nunc si eadem hic iterum iterem, *inscitiast*.

Ps. 740:

Quid? si opus sit ut dulce promat indidem, *ecquid habet?*

St. 171-72:

Nunc si ridiculum hominem quaerat quispam,  
*venalis* ego *sum* cum ornamentis omnibus.

Tri. 557-58:

Quin hic quidem *cupit* illum ab se abalienarier,  
siquem reperire possit, quoi os sublinat.

Here again, especially when the apodosis precedes, it is difficult to say with certainty under which of the three heads a given example should be classified. However, Ps. 740 and St. 171-72 seem clearly of the first type, *i.e.*, the state of affairs referred to in the apodosis is felt as in no way dependent on the truth of the condition.

(b). Sentences of the form *si sit—erit*.

Asin. 699:

*Vehes* pol hodie me, si quidem hoc argentum ferre speres.

Aul. 311:

、 Famem hercle utendam, si roges, numquam *dabit*.

Cure. 186:

*Irascere*, si te edentem hic a cibo abigat.

Merc. 650-51:

Si ibi amare forte occipias atque item eius sit inopia,  
iam inde porro *aufugies?*

Mil. 571:

Ne tu hercle, si te di ament, linguam *comprimes*.

Most. 56-57:

Ita te *forabunt* patibulatum per vias  
†stimulis, si huc reveniat senex.

Poen. 729:

Si pultem, non *recludet*.

Poen. 1085:

Quin mea quoque iste *habebit*, siquid me fuat.

Tri. 26-27:

*Concastigabo* pro commerita noxia,  
*invitus*, ni id me invitet ut faciam fides.<sup>12</sup>

For the purposes of the present discussion the last example cited may be ignored because the apodosis is really *invitus* rather than *Concastigabo*. The most striking thing about the group is the prevalence of sentences of the second type, i.e., sentences in which the apodosis refers to a state of affairs felt as conditioned. Cure. 186, Merc. 650-51 and Poen. 729 (as here punctuated<sup>13</sup>) are clear cases. So apparently Asin. 699, Most. 56-57 and Poen. 1085, unless the first be a case of anacoluthon. In the sentences of other forms thus far dealt with the explanations for examples of the second type have been the modality of the verb of the apodosis and the undeveloped state of the language. Here however none of the verbs are modal, and we are again forced back (as in the case of Cas. 528-29) to the other line of explanation. But in this category the easy tolerance of the unsymmetrical sentence structure is much more readily understood. For the verb of the apodosis refers to the future—a time realm in which the bounds of indicative and subjunctive meaning were perhaps least

<sup>12</sup> The manuscript reading would add Bacch. 1172 to this list.

<sup>13</sup> The more difficult punctuation is *si pultem, non recludet?* i.e., "What if I knock and he does not open?"

clearly set in early Latin. Plautus perhaps felt it no harsher to use the futures of ordinary verbs in this way than to so employ the presents of modal verbs. If so, we can readily understand the prevalence of sentences of the second type in this category.

Of the two cases of this form not yet treated, Aul. 311 seems of the first type, the action of the apodosis being independent of the truth of the protasis. The other case (Mil. 571) has no parallel among the sentences thus far treated, the future indicative having something of imperative force. The whole passage is

PE. Ne tu hercle, si te di ament, linguam *comprimes*:  
posthac etiam illud quod sceis nesciveris  
nec videris quod videris. SC. *Bene me mones.*

The line here between indicative and subjunctive was not very clearly defined, as we may see by comparing line 293 of the same play:

Verum etiam tu istam, si te di ament, temere hau *tollas*  
fabulam.

(c.) Sentence of the form *si fuerim*—*erit*.

Cas. 335 ff.:

Sed tandem si tu Iuppiter sis emortuos,  
quom ad deos minoris redierit regnum tuom,  
quis mihi *subveniet* tergo aut capiti aut cruribus?

This also is an example of the second type.

(d.) Sentences of the form *si esset* (*fuisse*)—*fuit*.

Amph. 947-48:

Ut quae apud legionem vota *vovi*, si domum  
redissem salvos, ea ego exsolvam omnia.

Bacch. 818-19:

Hunc si ullus deus amaret, plus annis decem,  
plus iam viginti mortuom esse *oportuit*.

Cas. 440-41:

*Volui* Chalinum, si domi esset, mittere  
tecum obsonatum.

Mil. 475-76:

Quid propius *fuit*  
quam ut perirem, si elocutus essem ero?



Mil. 1356-57:

et si ita sententia esset, tibi servire *malui*  
multo quam alii libertus esse.

Pers. 594-95:

Vide sis, ego ille doctus leno *paene* in foveam *decidi*,  
ni hic adesses.

Ps. 285:

*Fuit* occasio, si vellet, iam pridem argentum ut daret.

Ps. 1241-42:

At ego iam intus promam viginti minas  
quas *promisi*, si effecisset.

St. 563:

Senex quidem *voluit*, si posset, indipisci de cibo.

Tri. 566:

*Licitumst*, si velles.

Truc. 140:

Si rem servassem, *fuit* ubi negotiosus essem.

Obviously some of these sentences belong to the categories above described. Mil. 1356-57 and Truc. 140 are most clearly of the first type, and Bacch. 818-19 and Mil. 475-76 of the second, with the modal verb *oportere* in the former. The fact that the apodosis precedes in Ps. 285 and Tri. 566 makes exact analysis difficult. The other cases of this group have peculiarities; Cas. 440-41 and St. 563 (with forms of *velle* in apodosis) are hard to deal with because one scarcely knows whether to treat *velle* or its infinitive as the apodosis proper. Amph. 947-48 and Ps. 1241-42 are simply abridged; in the latter case, for instance, *viginti minas quas promisi* means of course "twenty minae which I promised to give," and it is in this idea of giving that the *si*-clause finds its logical apodosis.<sup>14</sup>

The one remaining case (Pers. 594-95) is the most interesting of the whole group. It is one of the rare examples<sup>15</sup> in Plautus of the contrary to fact type of sentence which tells what was on the point of happening but which did not come to pass because of an intervening circumstance. Were it not for *paene* we might perhaps be inclined to count this another example of the second

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Tri. 835 ff., which may be so punctuated as to form a parallel.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Ps. 499.

type—*decidi* would then be a mere piece of exaggeration. But *paene* disqualifies its clause for being the apodosis of *ni hic adesses*; for the realization in fact of that condition would have meant actual falling in, not *almost* falling in. The phrase *ego ille doctus leno paene in foveam decidi* is therefore worded without reference to the addition of the *ni*-clause at the end, and as a matter of fact it is in itself a complete and precise statement needing no further qualification. In other words we seem to have to do with a case of anacoluthon, but this is different from any examples of the phenomenon yet taken up. A comparison of the following sentences will make this point clear.

Vel ego amare utramvis possum—si probe adpotus siem.

Omnia istaec scimus iam nos—si hi spectatores sciant.

Ego . . . paene in foveam decidi—ni tu adesses.

In the first of these examples the speaker corrects the opening remark by the use of the *si*-clause, letting the hearer know that the state of affairs there asserted is after all subject to a condition. In the second the *si*-clause is added as a necessary check on the hearer's unconditioned inference from the statement *Omnia istaec scimus iam nos*, namely "you need not enumerate them." In the last example neither of these things is true; *paene in foveam decidi* and the obvious inference to be drawn from it ("I did not fall in") are both facts subject to no condition, and neither therefore needs a corrective *ni*-clause; and such is not the function of *ni hic adesses*. Rather, this contrary to fact phrase is used to imply the reason why the speaker did not fall into the trap. Without making any elaborate analysis it is clear that this implication is the chief function of the clause; for the speaker is obviously using the words to express his obligation to the hearer for his presence (and advice), representing them as the cause of his escape. In other words, *ni hic adesses* does not correct the preceding statement or the unconditioned inference from it ("I did not fall in"), but it further extends the thought of the sentence by assigning the cause for the thing to be inferred.

It is customary to treat sentences of this sort as the result of ellipsis, but the above analysis suggests another possible line of explanation. In Plautus there are many regularly formed con-

trary to fact conditional sentences whose chief function is to assign a reason for an existing or past state of affairs; *e.g.*,

Mil. 1262:

MI. Non video. Ubist? AC. Videres pol, si amares.<sup>16</sup>

In this passage *Videres* takes cognizance of the fact stated in the preceding speech (*Non video*), and the *si*-clause assigns the reason for that fact, *i.e.*, that the first speaker is not really in love. In the sentence under discussion (*paene in foveam decidi, ni hic adesses*), at the end of the first clause the speaker may become conscious that his words take cognizance of the fact that he did not fall in, just as would have been the case had he said *decidissem*, and this perhaps tempted him to use, in acknowledging the cause of his not falling in, the form which is generally employed only when the fact for which a reason is assigned is implied by a contrary to fact subjunctive apodosis, as in Mil. 1262 above.

(e). Sentences of the form *si esset*—*fuerat* (*erat*.)

Bacch. 563 ff.:

Quid? tibi non *erat* meretricum aliarum Athenis copia,  
quibuscum haberes rem, nisi cum illa quam ego mandassem  
tibi,  
occiperes tute etiam amare . . . ?

Mil. 52-53:

Quid in Cappadocia, ubi tu quingentos simul,  
ni hebes machaera foret, uno ictu *occideras*?

St. 512-13:

Et magis par *fuerat* me vobis dare cenam advenientibus,  
quam me ad illum promittere, nisi nollem ei advorsarier.

The interesting example of this group is Mil. 52-53, showing as it does the same sort of *ni*-clause as appears in Pers. 594-95, which has just been discussed at length. The explanation here however is much easier, for the *ni*-clause precedes,<sup>17</sup> and the action referred to in the apodosis obviously depends on the coming to pass of the condition that was not realized. This therefore is but another example of the second type, and is to be explained partly

<sup>16</sup> The other cases are enumerated in the American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXII, p. 310 ff.

<sup>17</sup> This precludes treating the sentence as a case of anacoluthon.

in the same way as others of that class, partly on the ground of the spirit of exaggeration that pervades the passage in which the sentence occurs.<sup>18</sup> The other two cases in this group seem also to be examples of the second type; St. 512-13 has a modal verb in apodosis.

In summing up the results of this study with reference to pure conditional sentences, it may be remembered that we began with the assumption that Plautus had a fairly clear conception of the same mood in both clauses as the norm. The problem in hand is therefore to discover the reasons why some sentences do not conform to that norm. Four such reasons have been enumerated.

1. The fact that the state of affairs mentioned in the apodosis is often in no way dependent on the truth of the protasis; the indicative statement includes and implies what *would be* in the supposed case.

2. The modal meaning of certain verbs, notably *posse*.

3. The union of a complete sentence and a part of another by anacoluthon. The form of each member of the expression is determined by the thought it is to convey, irrespective of the form of the other member.

4. The somewhat undeveloped state of the language in Plautus' day, as shown (*a*) in irregular sentence structure and (*b*) in the not very precise use of mood forms. This method of explanation finds its most sweeping application in cases referring to the future; for there the fact that the realms of indicative and subjunctive meanings were not carefully differentiated tended to make the lack of symmetry in sentence structure still less noticeable to Plautus than it would otherwise have been. Aside from sentences referring to the future there are very few

<sup>18</sup> With regard to such sentences as this it should be remembered also that at this time Latin was in the midst of the process of adopting the use of the secondary tenses for the expression of the contrary to fact idea. In Greek it was the *indicative* that was chosen when a similar shift of tense was made in that language, and it is possible that we should recognize in early Latin some sporadic and unorganized impulses to develop in that way rather than toward the use of the subjunctive. Cf. Men. 195 (*si amabas*), Ps. 286 (*si amabas*) and perhaps Rud. 379 (*si amabat*). An interesting variety is also displayed in Cas. 811 (*si equos esses, esses indomabilis*) and Mil. 1111-12 (*tu quidem ad equas fuisti scitus admissarius*). With regard to the case under discussion Brix seems to lay too much stress on the demands of the metre; cf. his note *ibid.* 131.

cases for which this is the only possible line of explanation. Generally it is to be combined with others, as for instance with 2 above. One or two combinations with factors not here enumerated were mentioned in the discussion of individual cases.<sup>19</sup>

## II.—CONCESSIVE SENTENCES.

### (a). Sentences of the form *si sit*—*est*.

Asin. 318-19:

*Si quidem omnes coniurati cruciamenta conferant,  
habeo opinor familiarem tergum, ne quaeram foris.*

Asin. 933:

*Pol si aliud nil sit, tui me, uxor, pudet.*

Bacch. 128:

*Qui si decem habeas linguas, mutum esse addecet.*

Bacch. 1045-46:

*Si plus perdundum sit, periisse suavius  
quam illud flagitium volgo dispalescere.*

Cas. 314 ff.:

*Quin si nolis filiusque etiam tuos,  
vobis invitis atque amborum ingratis  
una libella liber possum fieri.*

Cist. 27 ff.:

*Si idem istud nos faciamus, si idem imitemur, ita tamen vix  
vivimus  
cum invidia summa.*

Merc. 841:

*Ibi quidem si regnum detur, non cupitast civitas.*

Pers. 40-41:

*Quin si egomet totus veneam, vix recipi potis est  
quod tu me rogas.*

Ps. 291:

*Atque adeo, si facere possim, pietas prohibet.*

St. 43 ff.:

*Et si illi improbi sint . . .  
nostrum officium meminisse decet.*

<sup>19</sup> The jussive force of the future indicative (Mil. 571) and the exaggeration which pervades the passage in which Mil. 53 occurs.

Tri. 1186:

Nam si pro peccatis centum ducat uxoris, *parumst.*

Truc. 877:

Factum cupio: nam nefacere si velim, non *est* locus.

The sentences of this group well illustrate the tendency of the concessive *si*-clause to precede its conclusion; here there is not a single variation from the rule. Excepting in Cist. 27 ff. and possibly in Merc. 841 the *si*-clause is a mere supposition, and takes the subjunctive mood for the same reason that that mood is employed in pure conditional sentences of the ideal and contrary to fact types. Having begun his sentences with such a *si*-clause, Plautus nevertheless does not hesitate to complete them with an indicative conclusion, and such a course is not without justification. For in the above examples it will be found that the conclusion refers regularly to a state of affairs actually existing and which would continue to exist despite the coming to pass of what is supposed in the *si*-clause. Both of these things the speaker cannot express at one and the same time, though perhaps in some cases he finds it possible to follow a middle course by using the indicative when the verb chances to be modal. But with other verbs at any rate he must make a choice; by the use of the indicative he can assert *the existing state of affairs*, allowing the hearer to gather that the same state would continue under the adverse circumstances supposed, and on the other hand by employing the subjunctive he can confine himself to what *would be true* despite those circumstances, leaving it to the hearer to infer the actually existing state of affairs. Either mood is therefore justified by the nature of the situation and the underlying thought. The indicative is the more vigorous and comprehensive form of expression; whereas the use of the subjunctive appeals to a mind trained to grammatical niceties as producing a more symmetrical sentence structure.

Consequently in Cicero the subjunctive is the normal and regular usage; *e.g.*,

p. Sulla 13.38:

Ne si argueret quidem tum denique . . . id mihi criminorum *videretur*.

When as here the supposition is contrary to fact, the choice of the secondary tenses of the subjunctive in the conclusion makes the speaker use the form of unreality of something which is as a matter of fact true. Nevertheless in the orations alone there are some seventy cases in which a *si*-clause containing the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive forces its conclusion to agree in mood with itself.<sup>20</sup> Even modal verbs seldom resist the pressure; *e.g.*,

p. Arch. 7.17:

Quodsi ipsi haec neque attingere neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari *deberemus*.<sup>21</sup>

A case where, instead of allowing the *si*-clause to force the use of the imperfect subjunctive in the conclusion (as in the two examples just given) Cicero chooses to simply assert the existing state of affairs, is generally counted noteworthy; *e.g.*,

Lael. 27. 104:

Si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen *adfert* mihi aetas ipsa solacium.<sup>22</sup>

Plautus' usage is in sharp contrast to this, as at once appears when we compare those concessive clauses in which he uses the forms *si sit—est* and *si sit—erit* with those in which the form *si sit—sit* appears. Omitting for the time being Cist. 27 ff. and Merc. 841 which (one or both) have a peculiarity which disqualifies for participation in this comparison, there have been cited above ten cases of the form *si sit—est*; below there will be given four of the form *si sit—erit*. Over against these fourteen cases of the indicative in the conclusion, even by including two passages in which the text is corrupt, there are but five examples<sup>23</sup> of the form *si sit—sit*, that is, five examples in which the influence

<sup>20</sup> See Amer. Jour. Phil., Vol. XXI, p. 270 ff.

<sup>21</sup> So also, *oporteret* (in Verr. II, 1, 27, 70; II, 2, 6, 15 and 40, 99; II, 4, 51, 114, de prov. cons. 14, 35); *deberem* (de prov. cons. 20, 47; *deberetis* (p. Tull. 15, 36); *deberent* (in Verr. II, 3, 40, 91); *possem* (in Pis. 33, 81); *posses* (in Caecil. 13, 43 and 19, 62; in Verr. II, 3, 72, 169); *posset* (in Verr. II, 3, 13, 32); *liceret* (p. Mil. 27, 72), etc. The idiomatic imperfect indicative of a modal expression referring to the present occurs de Imp. Pomp. 17, 50.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. p. Sulla 30, 83, and the preceding note fin.

<sup>23</sup> There are three other cases of this form, but they are excluded here because the subjunctive of the conclusion can be otherwise explained—characteristic (Bacch. 179), dependent on *ut* (Tri. 487), jussive (True. 855).

of the subjunctive *si*-clause was strong enough to move the speaker to choose the more symmetrical but less vigorous form of conclusion. And whereas in Cicero even modal verbs seldom resist leveling, in these examples just mentioned Plautus nowhere levels a modal verb. Surely if we needed any additional evidence to prove Plautus' freedom from the thrall of hard and fast grammatical conceptions, we have it here.

The five cases in which he uses the form *si sit*—*sit* are as follows:

Aul. 555 ff.:

Quos si Argus servet, qui oculus totus fuit,  
is numquam *servet*.

Bacch. 697:

Quem si orem ut mihi nil credat, id non *ausit* credere.

Tri. 885 ff.:

Si ante lucem† ire occipias a meo primo nomine,  
concubium *sit* noctis priusquam ad postremum perveneris.

Truc. 315-16:

Si ecastor hic homo senapi victitet, non *censeam*  
tam esse tristem posse.

Truc. 527-28:

†Sih plane ex medio mari

savium petere tuom iubeas, petere hau *pigeat*, mel meum.

Few as these cases are, they still suggest one of the ways in which a concessive *si*-clause containing the subjunctive tended to exert a levelling influence on its conclusion. In the first passage cited Euelio is much distressed for fear the cooks will steal something, and the thought he wishes to convey is that though Argus himself should undertake to watch them, still they could not be kept from pilfering. Had the conclusion been phrased in this way the verb would doubtless have been in the indicative, but the emphatic *Argus* of the *si*-clause has tempted Plautus to resume the emphasis in the conclusion with *is*, and he has thereby committed himself to a periphrasis in which anything but the subjunctive is difficult; for how can the clause be made a statement describing the existing state of affairs when Argus is the subject of discourse—a personage who has no connection with that state of affairs, and who is after all only a figment of the imagination?



The only thing left for the speaker to do is to accept the other alternative and state what *would be* despite the selection of so good a guardian, allowing the hearer to infer the existing state of affairs.<sup>24</sup> The second passage above cited is of precisely the same sort, the emphatic *nil* of the *si*-clause being echoed by *id* of the conclusion; having begun with this word the speaker would find it difficult to complete the clause as a statement of fact descriptive of the existing state of affairs. The remaining three cases have no resumptive word in their conclusions; but the *si*-clauses each contain an emphatic word or phrase which would have allowed of resumption (*ante lucem*, Tri. 885, *senapi*, Truc. 315, *ex medio mari*, Truc. 527), and the speaker may have felt something of resumptive force even though he did not definitely express it. At any rate the conclusion in each case is worded so as to fit such a resumptive word or phrase, and not as it probably would have been if the speaker had planned for an indicative clause descriptive of the existing state of affairs.

In cases like these last three where the *si*-clause contains an emphatic element that might be, but as a matter of fact is not, resumed in the conclusion, Plautus' usage probably varies. Thus in Bacch. 128 though the verb is modal he has perhaps chosen to assert in the conclusion the existing state of affairs:

Qui si decem habeas linguas, mutum esse *addecet*.

Had he allowed himself a resumptive phrase, we wonder whether even the modal verb would have resisted the pressure. In English at any rate we have no option—we cannot say "Though you had ten tongues, with the ten it is fitting that you be silent," for the ten tongues do not exist. We must say "with ten tongues it *would be* fitting, etc." Cf. Tri. 1186.

Before leaving this group of sentences of the form *si sit—est*, a word should be added with reference to Cist. 27 ff. and Merc.

<sup>24</sup> In terms of the preceding paper such an example is an *intensive* concessive sentence. Euclio is not content with any reasonable concession such as "Though we watch them," but in his desire for emphasis he flies to the most extreme of suppositions, "Though *Argus* should watch them." Such concessive clauses are a mannerism with Plautus. When the element which renders the supposition extreme is something other than the verb (here *Argus*), the periodic nature of the concessive sentence naturally inclines the speaker to resume the emphasis in the conclusion by a pronoun or the like (here *is*), thus introducing into that clause an element which is as little suited as the word resumed to be a factor in a description of the existing state of affairs.

841. These are what might be called *general* concessive sentences,<sup>25</sup> differing from the others in that the *si*-clause neither refers to the future nor is it contrary to fact, but rather (most clearly in Cist. 27 ff.) deals with something which does happen at least occasionally. Such a *si*-clause is quite analogous to a general "condition," where the same use of the subjunctive occurs, notably when the subject of the verb is the indefinite second singular. Such a subjunctive *si*-clause, even in the strictest Latin, exercises little leveling force on its conclusion. It was for this reason that these two cases were excluded in the comparison made to determine the ratio of indicative to subjunctive in the conclusions of concessive clauses of the form *si sit*; their inclusion would have increased a little, and perhaps unfairly, the number of indicative cases.

(b). Sentences of the form *si sit*— *erit* (*futurus est*).

Amph. 450-51:

Quadrigas *si* nunc inscendas Iovis  
atque hinc fugias, ita vix *poteris* effugere infortunium.

Asin. 414-15:

Siquidem hercle nunc summum Iovem te dicas detinuisse  
atque is precator adsiet, malam rem *effugies* numquam.

Bacch. 1004:

Nam ego non *laturus sum*, *si* iubeas maxume.

Ep. 610-11:

*Si* undecim deos praeter sese secum adducat Iuppiter  
ita non omnes ex cruciatu *poterunt* eximere Epidicum.

In this group the conclusion refers to something that will not take place and would (still) not take place despite the coming to pass of the state of affairs supposed in the *si*-clause. Not being able to express all this definitely in a single clause, the speaker may either assert that the thing in question will not take place or that it would not, (even) in the case supposed. The first of these alternatives seems to be chosen in the second and third examples. In the other two cases, despite the indicative of the conclusion, it appears as though the speaker intended to accept the second alternative, giving expression to what *would* come to

<sup>25</sup> See Amer. Jour. Phil., Vol. XXIV, p. 300 ff.

pass. For in both sentences the emphatic elements of the *si*-clause are echoed by *ita* ("even so"), which seems to restrict the conclusion to the supposed case; and in Ep. 610-11 such restriction is further indicated by the carrying over of the emphatic subject of discourse from the *si*-clause to the conclusion, and the result thus produced on the phrasing there;<sup>26</sup> for otherwise the clause would naturally have taken the form "nevertheless Epidicus cannot be saved," as in the very similar case in

Asin. 414-15:

Si quidem hercle nunc summum Iovem te dicas detinuisse  
atque is precator adsiet, malam rem effugies numquam.

The question is therefore why the indicative is used in the two sentences under discussion (Amph. 450-51 and Ep. 610-11). The answer is to be found partly in the fact that the verb in both cases is *posse*, partly in the reference to the future—the point where indicative and subjunctive are least clearly distinguished.<sup>27</sup>

The only concessive sentences of the form *si sit—sit* with which those of this group may be compared are the five quoted in the discussion of the form *si sit—est*.

(c). Sentence of the form *si sit—fuit*.

Rud. 159:

Si non moneas, nosmet *meminimus*.

By virtue of its meaning this sentence might have been treated with those of the form *si sit—est*. Its explanation is the same.

(d). Sentences of the form *si esset (fuisset)—fuit*.

Curc. 449 ff.:

Quia enim in cavea si forent  
conclusi itidem ut pulli gallinacei  
ita non *potuere* uno anno circumirier.

Merc. 595-96:

Sed †tamen demsi prodagrosis pedibus esset Eutyclus,  
iam a portu redisse *potuit*.

<sup>26</sup> See the discussion above of concessive sentences of the form *si sit—sit*.

<sup>27</sup> My colleague Prof. Prescott calls attention also to the minatory force of Amph. 450-51.

Merc. 694-95 :

†Decem si ad cenam vocasset summos viros  
nimium *opsonavit*.

Mil. 803-04 :

Non *potuit* reperire, si ipsi Soli quaerendas dares,  
lepidiores duas ad hanc rem quam ego.

Ps. 792-93 :

Nam ego si iuratus peiorem hominem quaererem  
coquum, non *potui* quam hunc quem duco ducere.<sup>28</sup>

In this group the conclusion refers to a present or past state of affairs which would be (would have been) unchanged despite the coming to pass of the thing supposed. In Merc. 694-95 the speaker seems clearly to choose the alternative of asserting the past state of affairs. The other four cases contain the verb *posse*, and therefore, though in the indicative, may conceivably refer to what would be or would have been; this seems to be the case in Mil. 803-04, for the emphatic *Soli* of the *si*-clause provides a subject of discourse for the conclusion, thus dominating the phrasing of that member of the sentence and restricting it to the supposed case (see the discussion above of Ep. 610-11) : *ita* of Curc. 449 ff. looks in the same direction. The exact meaning of the remaining two cases is not clear.

With the sentences of this group may be compared two of the form *si esset (fuisset)—fuisset*, Men. 238 ff. and Most. 241-42. The first of these is an interesting illustration of the resumption of emphasis and its restricting effect.

(e). Sentence of the form *si fuisset—futurus erat*.

Cist. 152-53 :

quod si tacuisset, tamen  
ego *eram dicturus*.

This case is interesting as being apparently the only example of its kind in Plautus, though of course it is of a type common enough later. As a conclusion of *quod si tacuisset* Plautus' usage elsewhere would lead us to expect either a statement of the fact of the case ("I shall tell") or an announcement that this state of affairs would be undisturbed even under the supposed circum-

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the corrupt Capt. 417-18.

stances ("I should have told"). Following his usual procedure he leans toward the first of these alternatives, but substitutes "I was prepared to tell" for "I shall tell." Though rare in concessive sentences, such substitution is very frequent in Plautus generally: everywhere we find expressions of ability, willingness, readiness, habit and the like substituted for assertions that something will be brought to pass.<sup>29</sup> The really noteworthy thing in this case is the tense—which however is a question that belongs to the history of the contrary to fact construction rather than to a discussion of the concessive sentence.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to sum up what has been brought out in the preceding discussion. I may however say again that in concessive sentences of the kind treated in this paper the conclusion regularly refers to a state of affairs actually existent and which would be undisturbed even in the case supposed.<sup>30</sup> The speaker must in general choose which of the two things he will state, the first naturally calling for the indicative and the second for the subjunctive. In the case of modal verbs it is hard at times to determine which course a speaker meant to follow, and it is possible that occasionally in such examples he did not make a conscious choice.

To assert the existing state of affairs is unquestionably the more vigorous and comprehensive form of expression, and it is not strange that it was a favorite with Plautus, though the subjunctive was the rule later, even in the case of modal verbs. The few examples in which Plautus uses the subjunctive would seem to show that he was moved in that direction, at least in part, by the fact that an emphatic element of the *si*-clause echoed in the conclusion tends to commit the speaker to a turn of phrase unsuited to be a description of the existing state of affairs. After his time doubtless a much more important and sweeping influence

<sup>29</sup> See Poen. 516-17, which has been already discussed, and Amer. Jour. Phil., Vol. XXIV, p. 294.

<sup>30</sup> This is an essential and fundamental characteristic of the concessive periods. Occasionally there appears a pure conditional sentence which has a very similar *accidental* characteristic, namely that the apodosis refers to an action or state of affairs which would occur in the supposed case, but whose happening as a matter of fact is not dependent on the truth of the condition. Such conditional sentences provide examples of the first type discussed, and the explanation of indicative apodosis there is very similar to that of indicative conclusion here.

was exerted by the growing appreciation of grammatical symmetry which demanded a subjunctive conclusion for a subjunctive concessive *si*-clause, on the analogy of pure conditional sentences.

### III.—SI IN OBJECT CLAUSES.

This not altogether satisfactory heading is designed to describe such *si*-clauses as complete the meaning of a statement of fact—a function very different from that of a *si*-clause in a conditional period or concessive sentence. These object clauses are also peculiar in position; for in the conditional period the *si*-clause may either precede or follow, in the concessive sentence it almost always precedes, but here it regularly follows.

#### (a). Sentences of the form *si sit*—*est*.

##### A.—Dependent on Verbs of Expectation and Waiting.

Cas. 540:

Quae iam dudum, si arcessatur, ornata *expectat* domi.

Cas. 542:

Intus illa te, si se arcessas, *manet*.

Poen. 12:

Iam dudum *expecto*, si tuum officium scias.

Tri. 98:

*Expecto*, siquid dicas.

Tri. 148:

*Ausulto*, siquid dicas.

In the first two of these sentences the *si*-clause tells the thing expected or waited for, and the meaning of *si* is conditional, approaching somewhat that of *dum*, but conveying less assurance that the thing in question will ultimately happen. The third example is obviously different. There the speaker is of course not waiting for the other to know his business, and we are tempted to render "I have long been waiting (to see) *whether* you know your business," making *expectare* the point of support for an indirect question; as for instance in

Cic. in Verr. II. 1. 59. 154:

*expectemus* quid dicant ex Sicilia testes?

It is true that E. Becker<sup>31</sup> is probably right in denying that *si* ever has full interrogative force in the writings of Plautus. But the passage in question is from a prologue probably of later date, and therefore in our analysis we are not restricted by the Plautine rule. In the two remaining cases (Tri. 98 and 148) it is difficult to say whether to the original speaker *si* was purely conditional, or whether there was some admixture of interrogative shading. This latter we perhaps are too prone to feel.

### B.—Dependent on Verbs of Action and Effort.

Capt. 100-01:

Homines captivos *commercatur*, si queat  
aliquem invenire suum qui mutet filium.

Cist. 183-84:

*Iubet* illum eundem *persequi*, siqua queat  
reperire quae sustulerit.

Cist. 184 ff.:

ei rei nunc suam  
*operam* usque assiduo servos *dat*, si possiet  
meretricem illam invenire.

Tri. 531-32:

Em istuc *oportet opseri* mores malos  
si in opserendo possint interfieri.

It is noteworthy that in this group the verb of the *si*-clause is always *quire* or *posse*. The thought of these clauses is akin to the purpose idea, but with a large admixture of doubt as to the attainment of the goal. A purpose clause with a parenthetical "if possible" or the like would in most cases provide a fair rendering for the thought; e.g. (Capt. 100-01), "He is buying up prisoners, that if possible he may light on one who can be exchanged for his son." In Cist. 184 ff. the *si*-clause appears to be an expansion of *ei rei*.

Though the interpretation of such sentences is not difficult, it is hard to determine in a given case the precise shading of *si*. We can readily feel something of conditional force, as though the word were chosen to convey uncertainty with regard to the attainment of the purpose. At the same time the English mind

<sup>31</sup> Studemund's *Studia*, Vol. I, p. 195.

is not slow here too to find the suggestion of interrogative meaning. For, in colloquial speech, with just such a virtual purpose idea to express we freely use the interrogative; *e.g.*, "I am going to the city (to see) if I can secure some tickets," *i.e.*, "to secure some tickets if I can." The interrogative shading is most obtrusive when the action of the main clause is a suggested experiment as in Tri. 531-32; there we may assume that other means of suppressing vicious practices have been tried, and the speaker now jocosely suggests that it would be well to make the experiment of planting them in that fatal field (to see?) if they too, as well as other things, will be killed off.

(b). Sentences of other forms.

The remaining cases of object *si*-clauses containing the subjunctive and dependent on indicative forms are so few and scattering that they can be best presented under this general head.

A.—Dependent on Verbs of Expectation and Waiting.

Asin. 528-29:

An te id *expectare oportet*, siquis promittat tibi  
te facturum divitem, si moriatur mater sua?

Poen. 1391-92:

Iam pridem equidem istas scivi esse liberas  
et *expectabam* siqui eas assereret manu.

Ps. 1148:

Iamdudum, si des, *porrexi manum*.

Vid. 68:

Hic *astabo* atque *observabo*, siquem amicum conspicer.<sup>32</sup>

These sentences are manifestly like those cited of the form *si sit—est*.

B.—Dependent on Verbs of Action and Effort.

Capt. 27-28:

*Coepit* captivos *commercari* hic Aleos,  
siquem reperire posset, qui mutet suom (sc. filium).

<sup>32</sup> Another example is probably to be found in Truc. 692-93, but it contains the ambiguous form *opperiar*.



Merc. 622 ff.:

Quin *percontatu's* hominis quae facies foret  
qui illam emisset: eo si pacto posset indagarier  
mulier?

Mil. 1207-08:

Nam si possem ullo modo  
impetrare, ut abiret nec te abduceret, *operam dedi*.

Tri. 119-20:

*ei rei operam dare te fuerat aliquanto aequius*  
*siqui probiorem facere possea.*

Vid. 56-57:

*Ibo et quaeram*, siquem possim sociorum nanciscier  
seu quem norim qui advocatus adsiet.

Cf. Most. 837-38:

At tu isto ad vos *optuere*, quoniam cornicem nequis  
conspicari, si volturios forte possis contui.

Amph. 880-81:

Mercurium *iussi* me continuo *consequi*,  
siquid vellem imperare.

Mil. 1158:

PA. Date modo operam. AC. Id nos ad te, siquid velles,  
*venimus*.

In this group there is the same virtual purpose idea underlying the *si*-clause that was found in sentences of the form *si sit—est*; and, as there, the verb of the *si*-clause is regularly *posse* (*quire*), the exceptions being the last two cases cited, which contain forms of *velle*.<sup>33</sup> Here too it is impossible to decide to what extent *si* is interrogative. In Mil. 1207-08 however the unusual order (*si*-clause precedes) makes it difficult to feel any interrogative force in *si*.<sup>34</sup> In Tri. 119-20 *ei rei* again anticipates the *si*-clause.

Before attempting to solve the problem of subjunctive "pro-tasis" with indicative "apodosis" for sentences containing subjunctive object clauses, it will be necessary to consider also those

<sup>33</sup> There would be further exceptions if we should include Aul. 620-21 (*perscrutabor, si inveniam*) and Pers. 44 (*quaeram, siquis credat*); these are excluded because of the presence of forms in *-am*. Cf. also Merc. 941, St. 151-52, the corrupt Cas. 806 and doubtful Amph. 621.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Blase de mod. temp. permut. p. 22 (78). Lindskog (l. c. p. 73); without advancing any satisfactory evidence, is very decided in his disapproval of Blase's position.

cases in which an indicative object clause is used. The subjunctive examples were subdivided according to the nature of the verb of the main clause; (*A*) depending on verbs of expectation and waiting, (*B*) depending on verbs of action and effort. A similar plan will be followed here; but *A* is lacking, and it is necessary to add (*C*)—depending on verbs of seeing and knowing. We therefore begin with

### B.—Dependent on Verbs of Action and Effort.

Just as in the case of the subjunctive the verb of the *si*-clause is here also regularly *posse*.

Bacch. 1151:

Ego ad hunc iratum *adgrediar*, si possumus nos hosce intro  
inlicere huc.

Cist. 651-52:

*Ibo*, *persequar* iam illum intro, ut haec ex me sciat  
eadem, si possum tranquillum facere ex irato mihi.

Curc. 701:

*Animum advortite* hoc, si possum hoc inter vos componere.

Men. 417-18:

*adsentabor*, quicquid dicet, mulieri,  
si possum hospitium nancisci.

Men. 1048-49:

Nunc *ibo* intro ad hanc meretricem, quamquam suscenset mihi,  
sei possum exorare ut pallam reddat.

Rud. 890-91:

Verum tamen *ibo*, ei advocatus ut siem,  
siqua mea opera citius—addici potest.

Tri. 921:

Quod ad exemplumst? coniectura si reperire possumus.

Tri. 958-59:

Enim vero ego nunc sycophantae huic *sycophantari volo*,  
si hunc possum illo mille nummum Philippum circum-  
ducere.<sup>35</sup>

In this group belong also a few conventionalized *si vis* clauses which find a parallel in two subjunctive examples already cited

<sup>35</sup> Rud. 329 is doubtful in text and meaning. Cf. also Poen. 1063-64 and St. 740-41, which should perhaps come under this heading.

(*si vellem*, Amph. 880-81, and *si velles*, Mil. 1158). All the cases here given perhaps do not contain object clauses, but the list is made complete so there may be no chance of excluding what should be included.

Aul. 209: *Redeo ad te*, Megadore, *siquid me vis*.

Capt. 618: *Do tibi operam*, Aristophontes, *siquid est quod me velis*.

Men. 566: *Em hic abiit, si vis persequi vestigiis*.

Pers. 611: *Adduco hanc*, *siquid vis ex hac percontarier*.

Poen. 207-08: *Em amores tuos, si vis spectare*.

Poen. 1047-48: *Si itast, tesseram conferre si vis hospitalem, eccam attuli*.

Tri. 516-17: ST. Philto, *te volo*. PH. *Siquid vis*, Stasime.

As the sentences of this group are compared with the corresponding examples with subjunctive *si*-clause, it must be confessed that one looks in vain for a difference of meaning. It may be noted however that if a past tense is to be used in the *si*-clause the subjunctive is the mood chosen;<sup>36</sup> for all the indicative cases just cited employ the present tense.

### C.—Dependent on Verbs of Seeing and Knowing.

Bacch. 529:

*ibo ut visam huc ad eum, si forttest domi*.

Cas. 591:

*Viso huc, amator si a foro rediit domum*.

Men. 142:

*Iam sciam, siquid titubatumst, ubi reliquias videro*.

Mer. 155-56:

*Quin iam priusquam sum eloqutus scis, si mentiri volo*.

Pers. 825:

*Vide vero, si tibi satis placet*.

<sup>36</sup> Linskog (l. c. p. 69) makes this distinction. Further he adds (especially with reference to *posse* and *quire*) that when there is a reference to the future, a verb in the first person takes the indicative and in other persons the subjunctive. So Lindsay, Capt. 28 note. But Linskog himself notices one exception to the latter part of the rule (namely Rud. 890-91), explaining it away by saying that *mea opera addici potest* is equal to *possum facere, ut addicatur*. This is not altogether satisfying, especially as there is an exception to the other part of the rule which he does not notice, namely Vid. 56-57, where the first person subjunctive *possim* is used.

Tri. 748:

*Vide si hoc utile magis atque in rem deputas.*

Tri. 763:

*Sed vide consilium si placet.*<sup>37</sup>

In this group the nature of the verb of the main clause suggests most strongly interrogative force for *si*. Becker however (l.c. p. 195) holds that even here the word is not fully interrogative. For, he says, an undoubtedly interrogative word in some of the above cases would demand the subjunctive, according to Plautus' usage; here only the indicative is found.

Treating only those cases which contain undoubted indicative and subjunctive forms, Plautus' usage in object clauses may be thus presented in tabular form.

1. After verbs of expectation and waiting the subjunctive is used.

2. After verbs of action and effort the mood varies.

(a) In the present tenses both moods of *posse* are used; *quire* stands in the subjunctive, *velle* in the indicative.

(b) In past tenses the subjunctive of *posse* and *velle* is employed.

3. After verbs of seeing and knowing the indicative is used.

With the help of this outline it is possible by a process of exclusion to arrive at the probable cause of the use of the subjunctive in object clauses. For it may be remembered that in such clauses it was generally found to be true that the force of *si* was wavering between conditional and interrogative. The table just given shows that the use of the subjunctive must be due to the *conditional* force of the word—i.e., that this mood was chosen in accordance with the rule that called for it in regular conditional sentences. For in group 3 (after verbs of seeing and knowing), where the interrogative shading is most pronounced, the mood of the *si*-clause is always indicative. The weaker interrogative coloring of *si* in groups 1 and 2 cannot therefore have been the factor that caused the frequent use of the subjunctive there.

<sup>37</sup> Cist. 682 is doubtful in meaning.

## IV.—THE INDEFINITE SECOND SINGULAR.

Bacch. 440-41:

At nunc priusquam septuennis est, si *attingas* eum manu,  
extemplo puer paedagogo tabula dirumpit caput.

Capt. 202:

In re mala animo si bono *utare*, adiuvat.

Capt. 221:

Nam doli non doli sunt, nisi astu *colas*.

Cas. 721:

Quia quod tetigere, ilico rapiunt: si *eas* ereptum, ilico  
scindunt.

Ep. 674:

Quaque tangit, omne amburit. Si *astes*, aestu calefacit.

Men. 103:

Standumst in lecto, siquid de summo *petas*.

Mil. 673:

Nam in mala uxore atque inimico siquid *sumas*, sumptus est.

Pers. 449-50:

Siquam rem *accures* sobrie aut frugaliter  
solet illa recte sum manus succedere.

Poen. 635-36:

Malo siquid bene *facias*, id beneficium interit.  
Bono siquid male *facias*, aetatem expetit.

Poen. 812-13:

Siquid bene *facias*, levior plumast gratia.  
Siquid peccatumst, plumbeas iras gerunt.

Tri. 349:

De magnis divitiis siquid *demas*, plus fit an minus?

Tri. 414-15:

Non tibi illud apparere, si *sumas*, potest,  
nisi tu immortale rere esse argentum tibi.

Tri. 1053:

Si mage exigere *occipias*, duarum rerum exoritur optio.

Truc. 461-62:

Nullam rem oportet dolose adgredi  
nisi astute adcurateque *exsequare*.

To these sentences of the form *si sit—est* apparently should be added one of the form *si sit—erit*:

Amph. 703 ff.:

Bacchae bacchanti si *velis* advorsarier,  
ex insana insaniorem facies, feriet saepius.  
Si *obsequare*, una resolvas plaga.

Though forms in *-eris* are strictly speaking of uncertain mood, the two following cases may be at least enumerated in this connection:

Poen. 212-13:

Nam nullae magis res duae plus negoti  
habent, forte si *occeperis* exornare.

Tri. 1051:

Siquoi mutuom quid *dederis*, fit pro proprio perditum.<sup>28</sup>

A full and final explanation of the form of these sentences would naturally start with the subjunctive of the *si*-clause. But unfortunately the nature of this subjunctive is still a matter of uncertainty, and the material at hand is far too scanty to form the basis of any adequate conclusion on that point. To reach such a conclusion it may be necessary to compass the wide field in which the phenomenon of the concomitant relation between indefinite second singular and subjunctive mood manifests itself. However, that there is a cause and effect relation involved cannot I think be for a moment doubted, the upholders of the other view notwithstanding. For so sweeping is the tendency of a verb whose subject is the indefinite second singular to go into the subjunctive that Plautus offers but a single example of the form *si est—est* to compare with the fourteen above of the form *si sit—est*:

Asin. 241-42:

Portitorum simillumae sunt ianuae lenoniae:  
si *adfers*, tum patent; si non est quod des, aedes non patent.

Again a comparison of Poen. 812-13 and 635-36 (given above in full) is suggestive; in the second of these passages an alternative is afforded by *siquid bene facias* and *siquid male facias*, while in the other exactly the same thought finds expression in the clauses *siquid bene facias* and *siquid peccatumst*. If the indefinite second singular has nothing to do with the use of the subjunctive

<sup>28</sup> Tri. 347-48 has a hortatory subjunctive in apodosis; cf. Aul. 380-81.

it is hard to account for the choice of moods here. Though not in *si*-clauses, the variation in mood is quite as striking in the two following cases:

Mil. 947:

Volup est, quod *agas* si id procedit lepide atque ex sententia.

Poen. 1192:

Ut volup est homini, mea soror, si quod *agit* cluet victoria.<sup>39</sup>

Accepting as a fact not yet satisfactorily explained the subjunctive of the *si*-clause when the subject is the indefinite second singular, the problem of subjunctive "protasis" with indicative "apodosis" for the sentences under discussion is to determine why the subjunctive *si*-clause does not level its conclusion. One looks in vain for a clear case of such levelling in Plautus. There are it is true sentences like the following:

Cist. 33:

Eas si adeas, abitum quam aditum *malis*.<sup>40</sup>

But the subject of the verb of the conclusion seems always to be as here the indefinite second singular, and the cases therefore give no proof of the workings of a levelling force; for such a conclusion may take the subjunctive on its own merits, as is shown by examples in which an indicative *si*-clause precedes:

Bacch. 913 ff.:

Lippi illic oculi servos est simillimus:

si non est, *nolis* esse neque *desideres*;

si est, abstinere quin attingas non *queas*.

Capt. 116 ff.:

Liber captivos avis ferae consimilis est:

semel fugiendi si datast occasio,

satis est—numquam postilla *possis* prendere.

The reason why the subjunctive *si*-clause in the sentences under discussion does not level its conclusion is to be found in the nature of the underlying thought. The *si*-clause refers to an action which the speaker assumes does happen, at least occasionally, and *si* is therefore practically a synonym of *ubi* or *cum*.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> The shift in mood in the long passage Bacch. 426 ff. and in Tri. 414-15 may have been caused by passing from the definite to the indefinite second singular and vice versa.

<sup>40</sup> Other cases are: Amph. 705 and Tri. 1053-54. Asin. 120-21 is similar but has hortatory force.

<sup>41</sup> See again Amer. Jour. Phil., Vol. XXIV, p. 300 ff.

The conclusion has to do with a second act or state which is brought about by that referred to in the *si*-clause. This second act or state is accordingly also one that does actually occur at times, and the indicative of the conclusion is simply a recognition of that fact. The *si*-clause serves to define the circumstances of the occurrence, just as an *ubi*- or *cum*-clause might do, and the mood of its verb seems to exercise about as little influence on that of the conclusion as would that of a subjunctive *ubi*- or *cum*-clause.

In conclusion may be mentioned two sentences of the form *si sit—est* in which the subject of the verb of the *si*-clause is a class name:

Bacch. 447-48:

Hocine hic pacto potest

inhibere imperium magister, si ipso primus *vapulet*?

Truc. 234:

Nugae sunt, nisi modo quom dederit, dare iam *lubeat* denuo.

If the context of these passages be examined it will be found that in the first example *magister* is a class name "the master," and in the second the subject of discourse is *amator* "the lover." These sentences, especially the latter, suggest the query whether the indefiniteness that lurks in a class name is not akin to the indefiniteness of the general second person. If so, the modal peculiarity of occasional<sup>42</sup> cases like these might be explained on that analogy.

## V.—LOOSELY ATTACHED CLAUSES.

(a). The *si scias* type.

Merc. 298-99:

Immo *si scias*,

oculeis quoque etiam plus iam video quam prius.

Merc. 445:

Multo hercle ille magis senex, *si tu scias*.

I venture to bring these two sentences under a special heading because the *si*-clause is an idiomatic phrase which is capable of functioning alone; *e.g.*,

<sup>42</sup> The indicative is more common. See Aul. 247, Curc. 142, Men. 576 and Merc. 744.



Cas. 668 :

Immo *si scias* dicta quae dixit hodie.

Curc. 321 :

Immo *si scias* reliquiae quae sint.

Ps. 749 :

PS. Probus homost, ut praedicare te audio. CH. Immo *si scias*.

Cf. Bacch. 698 :

Immo *si audias* quae dicta dixit me advorsum tibi.<sup>43</sup>

(b). The *si modo* type.

Ps. 997 :

Id ago, *si taceas modo*.

Tri. 1187 :

Dicis, *si facias modo*.<sup>44</sup>

These sentences likewise have been set apart because the *si modo* clause containing the subjunctive is a half independent sentence element, almost an expression of wish; cf. :

Capt. 996 :

Quod male feci, crucior : *modo si* infectum fieri possiet.

Cas. 742-43 :

LY. Quid nunc? quam mox recreas me?

OL. Cena *modo si* sit cocta.

Ps. 976 :

Nam illa mea sunt cognomenta : nomen *si* meinoret *modo*.<sup>45</sup>

## VI.—MIRARI (MIRUM) IN APODOSIS.

Cure. 265 :

Nil *est mirandum*, melius si nil sit tibi.

Ps. 433 ff. :

Sed si sint ea vera, ut nunc mos est, maxume,  
quid *mirum* fecit? quid *novom*, adulescens homo  
si amat, si amicam liberat?

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Asin. 744. The use of these and similar phrases in regular conditional sentences (Bacch. 678, Ep. 451-52, Mil. 1429, Tri. 538) may perhaps throw some light on the two sentences above in which they are loosely attached.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Rud. 680, and possibly 552.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Cist. 734.

The number of cases in this category is too small to justify here a complete exposition of Plautus' usage. He regularly employs the indicative in the *si*-clause, and these are but two scattering cases that have strayed across the line.<sup>46</sup> I am therefore content to have merely quoted them here; they would be naturally treated in a general discussion of the idiom *mirari si* rather than in one of "subjunctive protasis with indicative apodosis."

With regard to this paper in general I perhaps need hardly say that I do not share the hope which seems to characterize most of the later work on this subject that some sweeping explanation may be found which is valid for all cases of "subjunctive protasis with indicative apodosis." Only on the assumption that Plautus felt this form as a linguistic unity could we rightly hope to find any such general explanation; and that he did so feel it is, in view of the wide variation of the underlying thought, at least very improbable. The division into conditional sentences, concessive sentences, etc., seems to me fundamental, and I have therefore in each of these groups based the explanation of the form on the nature of the thought to be conveyed.

I would here take up one more topic which has been postponed to the end of the discussion in order that it might not distract attention from more important matters if inserted in its logical place. I refer to the old problem of the difference in meaning of suppositions of the forms *si sit* and *si erit*. This question is raised especially by what was said of the pure conditional sentence, namely that Plautus' failure to differentiate sharply between the uses of the two mood systems in general would be most likely to betray itself in the somewhat interchangeable value of these two forms in particular, the time realm of both being the future. That he did differentiate to a certain extent between the use of *si sit* and *si erit* is unquestionable, and I would suggest that the differentiation was partly on an objective, partly on a subjective basis, *i.e.*, that Plautus *tends* to use the subjunctive in the two following cases:

---

<sup>46</sup> Lindskog (l. c. p. 65) seems not to recognize Ps. 433 ff. as belonging to this category, thus leaving Curc. 265 as the only example of the use of the subjunctive. To remove this exception to the rule he suggests that with B we read *fit* for *sit*.

- (a) When there is *actually* less likelihood of fulfillment.
- (b) When the speaker aims to *give an impression* of less likelihood of fulfillment.

The first of these cases is most strikingly illustrated by concessive sentences of the form *si sit—erit*. In at least three of the four examples found in Plautus the supposition of the *si*-clause is extremely improbable.

Amph. 450: *Quadrigas si nunc inscendas Iovis.*

Asin. 414: *Siquidem hercle nunc summum Iovem te dicas detinuisse.*

Bacch. 1004: *si iubeas maxime.*

Ep. 610: *Si undecim deos praeter sese secum adducat Iuppiter.*

The peculiarity of these subjunctive cases may be brought out into relief by contrasting the corresponding indicative examples. Counting as concessive one sentence in which the function of the *si*-clause is somewhat complicated, Plautus uses the form *si erit—erit* twice:

Amph. 1048 ff.:

Ubi quemque hominem aspexero  
si ancillam, seu servom, sive uxorem, sive adulterum,  
seu patrem, sive avom videbo, obtruncabo in aedibus.

Capt. 683-84:

Si ego hic *peribo*, ast ille ut dixit non redit,  
at erit mi hoc factum mortuo memorabile.

In view of the fact that *si est* is a form that often has future force, there are doubtless some concessive sentences of the form *si est—erit* which should be added to the two of the form *si erit—erit* before making a comparison with the subjunctive cases first cited. I give the complete list, leaving it to the reader to choose those sentences in which the form *si est* seems to him to have future meaning. Whatever the sentences chosen it will still be clear that the sunjunctive *tends* to be used when the supposition is extremely improbable, which is the point I am trying to illustrate.

Asin. 405-06:

Siquidem hercle Aeacidinis minis animisque expletus *cedit*,  
si med iratus tetigerit, iratus vapulabit.

Men. 1060-61:

Si *voltis* per oculos *iurare*, nilo hercle ea causa magis facietis ut ego hinc hodie abstulerim pallam.

Most 229-30:

Siquidem hercle *vendundus* pater, venibit multo potius quam te . . . sinam egere.

Rud. 1014:

Sei tu prœreta isti navi's, ego gubernator ero.

An illustration of Plautus' tendency to use the subjunctive when the speaker chooses to give an impression of unlikelihood of fulfillment is afforded by phrases of the form *Quid si . . . sit?* Not including the corrupt Cas. 806, there are nineteen questions of this sort in Plautus. For the present purpose they may be subdivided according to person and number.

(a). First person plural.

Cas. 357-58:

Quid si propius *attollamus* signa *eamusque* obviam?  
Sequere.

Cure. 303:

Quid si *adeamus?* heus, Curculio, te volo.

Cure. 351:

Quid si *abeamus*, *decumbamus?* inquit. Consilium placet.

Most. 393:

DEL. Quid si igitur *abeamus* hinc nos? TR. Non hoc longe, Delphium.

Poen. 330:

AG. Quid si *adeamus?* MI. Adeas.

Poen. 707 ff.:

Quid si *evocemus* huc foras Agorastoclem  
Ut ipse testis sit sibi certissimus?  
Heus tu, qui furem captas, egredere ocius.

Poen. 1162-63:

Quid si *eamus* illis obviam? AG. At ne inter vias  
præterbitamus metuo.

Poen. 1249:

HAN. Quid si *eloquamur?* AG. Censeo, hercle, patrue.

These questions correspond in general to our "Suppose we do thus and so"—a form which leaves with the hearer the impression that his wish or judgment is being consulted, and that the coming to pass of the thing suggested is, from the speaker's point of view, anything but assured. But while in some of the above cases the hearer shows by his expression of approval or disapproval that he feels himself consulted, in others (Cas. 357-58, Curc. 303, and Poen. 707 ff.) the speaker really does not defer to his wish or judgment at all, but without a pause proceeds to do the thing suggested. That is, in certain cases the speaker even though he fully expects a thing to be done, still uses in a somewhat perfunctory way a subjunctive phrase which appears to consult the wish or judgment of the hearer.

(b). First person singular.

Capt. 612:

HE. Quid ais? quid si *adeam* hunc insanum? TYN. Nugas: ludificabitur.

Cist. 321:

Quid si *adeam* atque *appellem*? Mali damnique inlecebra, salve.

Cure. 145:

PH. Quid si *adeam* ad fores atque *occidentem*? PA. Si lubet, neque veto neque iubeo.

Ep. 543:

Quid si *adeam*?

Pers. 724:

TO. Quid si *admoneam*? VI. Tempus est.

Poen. 728:

AG. Quid si recenti re aedis *pultem*? ADV. Censeo.

Rud. 535:

CH. Quid si aliquo ad ludos me pro manduco *locem*?

LA. Quapropter?

Truc. 6:

Quid si de vostro quippiam *orem*?—abnuont.

With these may very properly be enumerated the single case in which the perfect subjunctive is used:

Capt. 599:

HEG. †Hercle quid si hunc comprehendi iusserim? TYN.  
Sapias magis.

In several of these cases the answer shows that the hearer feels that he is consulted with regard to the speaker's action. Therefore the question in this number also is properly a form of deferential address. That however in some of the cases the speaker did not really mean to defer to the hearer's judgment is rendered probable by such an example as Cist. 321; where the question is spoken in soliloquy and is practically an announcement of the speaker's intention—at any rate he at once proceeds to do the thing mentioned. Whenever this is true it provides another illustration of the use of the subjunctive to give the appearance of deferring to the hearer's judgment.

Three cases remain which must be added to make the statement complete:

(c). Third person singular.

Bacch. 731-32:

MN. Quid scribam? CH. Salutem tuo patri verbis tuis.

PI. Quid si potius morbum, mortem *scribat*? id erit rectius.

Merc. 419:

Quid si igitur *reddatur* illi unde emptast?

Truc. 766:

Sed quid ego hic clamo? quid si me *iubeat* intro mittier?

In the first of these sentences *scribat* is clearly analogous to the first person use—the action proposed is put forward as a mere suggestion, here not by the actor himself but by another for him as it were. In the second case the verb is passive and the action devolves upon the first person; in meaning the sentence would properly be classed with those in which the subject of the verb is the first person. The third example is unique, and it seems to have nothing to do with the idiom under discussion aside from its likeness of form; its force is akin to that of indicative questions of similar structure.<sup>47</sup>

This completes the discussion of the difference of meaning of the forms *si sit* and *si erit*, and the paper might be closed at

<sup>47</sup> I omit from the enumeration Ps. 740 because it seems to have no exact parallel either among the subjunctive or the indicative cases. I have accepted the punctuation Quid? si opus sit ut dulce promat indidem, ecquid habet? and have treated the case as a pure conditional sentence.

this point. But having given the material in full for questions of the form *Quid si . . . sit?* I ought perhaps to add for the sake of comparison those of the form *Quid si . . . est (erit)?* Because of strongly idiomatic use such a comparison throws very little direct light on the question last under discussion (the difference in general between the meaning of *si sit* and *si erit*), but it is interesting in and for itself, and the matter seems to be nowhere fully treated.<sup>48</sup> The characteristic force of the indicative is seen most clearly in the following examples:

Asin. 536-38:

CL. Non voto ted amare qui dant, quonia amentur gratia.

PH. Quid si hic animus *occupatust*, mater? quid faciam?

Merc. 890:

EV. Potin ut animo sis tranquillo? CHA. Quid si mi animus *fluctuat?*

Pers. 612-13:

DO. Enim volo te adesse. TO. Hau possum, quin huic operam dem hospiti

quoi erus iussit. Quid si hic non *volt* me una adesse?

Poen. 721-22:

AG. Quid nunc mihi auctores estis? ADV. Ut frugi sis.

AG. Quid si animus esse non *sinit?*

Rud. 1085-86:

TR. Nil peto nisi cistulam et crepundia. GR. Quid si ea *sunt* aurea?

Rud. 1138-39:

Quid si ista aut superstitiosa aut hariolast atque omnia quidquid inerit vera *dicet?*

Tri. 1059-60:

CII. Te volo.

ST. Quid si ego me te velle *nolo?*

Questions like these are not polite and deferential phrases. On the contrary they verge toward a protest against the expressed

<sup>48</sup> Lindskog (l. c. p. 106 ff.) gives incomplete lists. Of the subjunctive cases he omits Mer. 419, Poen. 1249, and Truc. 766; of the indicative cases, Amph. 701, Bacch. 35, Ps. 286, Rud. 1086 and 1138 (two of these employ the perfect tense which he does not treat at all); of cases of ambiguous form (-am), Rud. 1274 and 1312. Regarding the subjunctive he says (p. 109) "Rei natura fit, ut semper praesens coniunctivi usurpetur;" but Capt. 599 has *iusserim*. O. Brugmann (l. c. p. 27) touches on this subject, but with very incomplete material. Cf. Brix on Capt. 613 and Sonnenschein on Rud. 472.

desire or advice of the person addressed. In translation we instinctively recognize this fact by beginning with an adversative particle "*But* what if . . . ?" The tone of the question may be even insolent, as in the last case cited.<sup>40</sup>

Other examples of a similar nature but with the speaker's feeling of protest or hesitation perhaps not so clearly marked are:

Amph. 391-92:

SO. Tuae fidei credo? ME. Meae.

SO. Quid si *faller*?

Asin. 193 ff.:

Si mihi dantur duo talenta argenti numerata in manum,  
hanc tibi noctem honoris causa gratiis dono dabo.

AR. Quid si non *est*?

Bacch. 1184-85:

NI. Quem quidem ego ut non *†*exeruciem, alterum tantum  
auri non meream.

BA. Quid tandem si dimidium auri *redditur*?

Cas. 269 ff.:

CLE. Quid si ego *impetro* atque *exoro* a vilico, causa mea  
ut eam illi permittat? LY. Quid si ego autem ab armigero  
*impetro*

ut eam illi permittat?

Merc. 907-08:

CHA. Opta ergo ob istunc nuntium quidvis tibi.

EV. Quid si *optabo*?

Most. 580 ff.:

TR. Reddet: nunc abi.

DA. Quid ego huc recursem aut operam sumam aut conteram?

Quid si hic *manebo* potius ad meridiem?<sup>41</sup>

In these cases the characteristic force of the indicative question is least clear in Bacch. 1184-85, which shades off toward the

<sup>40</sup> Lindskog's definition (p. 107) seems to me far too vague "indicativus usurpatur, cum quis quaerit, quid futurum sit, si quod in protasi contineatur evenerit."

<sup>41</sup> Here belongs probably also the somewhat complicated Amph. 849 ff. Some would include Ep. 599; but the *si*-clause seems here to be concessive, and if so the sentence should be punctuated Quid? si servo aliter visumst, non poteras novisse, obsecro? Aul. 776 has been emended to provide still another case.



meaning of the subjunctive sentences. Most. 580 ff. is complicated by the interjection of the words *Quid . . . conteram?* At a first reading the exact force of Cas. 269 ff. may not be evident. But it will be noticed that the verbs of line 269 are *impetrare* and *exorare* (not *peto* or the like); this assumption of success in the appeal inclines one to believe that the question was spoken in a taunting and exasperating tone. Lysidamus has betrayed all too clearly his intention with reference to the marriage of Casina, and his wife retorts, "But what if I succeed in inducing the steward to give her up?" So interpreted the indicative has the normal and characteristic meaning above described.

There still remain two cases of the form *Quid si—est?*

Bacch. 35:

BA. *Quid si hoc potis est ut tu taceas, ego eloqar?* SO. Lepide: licet.

Men. 844:

MA. *Quid est? Quid agimus?* SE. *Quid si ego huc servos cito?*

The meaning of the second of these examples seems precisely like that of the subjunctive cases. Bacch. 35, coming just after a lacuna, is partially devoid of context; but the meaning here too seems to approach closely that of the subjunctive question.<sup>51</sup>

It will be remembered that all the subjunctive cases excepting Capt. 599 (*iusserim*) use the present tense. I have therefore compared them with indicative cases of the forms *Quid si . . . est?* and *Quid si . . . erit?* as these have to do with a like time realm. There are also a few indicative cases which employ other tenses; they are Amph. 701, Asin. 720, Ps. 286, 514, and Rud. 721.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Lindskog (l. c. p. 111), having omitted from his enumeration Bacch. 35, naturally finds the only exception to the rule in Men. 844. To avoid the exception he suggests that *cito* is adverb rather than verb. The line between the use of the indicative and subjunctive was doubtless not absolutely hard and fast. It may be remembered that of the subjunctive cases Truc. 766 approaches close to indicative meaning; this case also was omitted by L.

<sup>52</sup> The text of Asin. 105 is doubtful. Aside from these there are six examples which contain ambiguous forms in *-am*, namely Amph. 313, Merc. 564, 578, Most. 1093, Rud. 1274, and 1311 ff.; all excepting the last have subjunctive force. Two cases have verbs terminating in *-erit* (Cas. 345 and Rud. 472 ff.) and one with the form *faxis* (Mil. 1417); these three have indicative force.

THE WHENCE AND WHITHER OF THE  
MODERN SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE.<sup>1</sup>

BY

BENJ. IDE WHEELER.

---

It cannot be the purpose of this brief paper to present even in outline a history of the science of language in the century past; it can undertake only to set forth the chief motives and directions of its development.

A hundred years ago this year Friedrich von Schlegel was in Paris studying Persian and the mysterious, new-found Sanskrit; Franz Bopp was a thirteen-year old student in the gymnasium at Aschaffenburg; Jacob Grimm was studying law in the University of Marburg. And yet these three were to be the men who should find the paths by which the study of human speech might escape from its age-long wanderings in a wilderness without track or cairn or clue, and issue forth upon oriented highways as a veritable science.

Schlegel the Romanticist, who had peered into Sanskrit literature in the interest of the fantastic humanism modish in his day, happened to demonstrate in *Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder*, 1808, beyond cavil the existence of a genetic relationship between the chief members of what we now know as the Indo-European family of languages. Bopp<sup>2</sup> found a way to utilize this demonstrated fact in a quest which, though now recognized as mostly vain, incidentally set in operation the mechanism of comparative grammar. Grimm,<sup>3</sup> under the promptings of a national enthusiasm, sought after the sources of the German

---

<sup>1</sup>Address delivered at the St. Louis Congress of Arts and Sciences, October, 1904.

<sup>2</sup>First work: *Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache*, 1816.

<sup>3</sup>*Deutsche Grammatik*, Vol. 1 (1819).

national life, and, finding in language as in lore the roots of the present deep planted in the past, laid the foundations and set forth the method of historical grammar. The grafting of comparative grammar upon the stock of historical grammar gave it wider range and yielded the scientific grammar of the nineteenth century. The method of comparative grammar is merely auxiliary to historical grammar; it establishes determinations of fact far behind the point of earliest record and enables historical grammar to push its lines of descent in the form of 'dotted lines' far back into the unwritten past.

It was the discovery of Sanskrit to the attention and use of European scholars at the close of the eighteenth century that gave occasion to an effective use of the comparative method and a consequent establishment of a veritable comparative grammar. But in two other distinct ways it exercised a notable influence upon the study of language. First, it offered to observation a language whose structure yielded itself readily to analysis in terms of the adaptation of its formal mechanism to the expression of modifications of thought, and thus gave an encouragement to a dissection of words in the interest of tracing the principles of their formation. Second, the Hindoo national grammar itself presented to Western scholars an illustration of accuracy and completeness in collecting, codifying, and reporting the facts of a language, especially such as related to phonology, inflexion, and word-formation, that involved the necessity of a complete revolution in the whole attitude of grammatical procedure. The discovery of Pāṇini and the Prātiçākhyas meant far more to the science of language than the discovery of the Vedas. The grammar of the Greeks had marked a path so clear and established a tradition so strong, guaranteed in a prestige so high, that the linguistics of the West through all the generations faithfully abode in the way. The grammatical categories once taught and established became the irrefragable moulds of grammatical thought, and constituted a system so complete in its enslaving power that if any man ever suspected himself in bondage he was yet unable to identify his bonds.

The Greeks had addressed themselves to linguistic reflexion in connection with their study of the content and the forms of

thought; grammar arose as the handmaiden of philosophy. They assumed, without consciously and expressly formulating it as a doctrine, that language is the inseparable shadow of thought, and therefore proceeded without more ado to find in its structure and parts replicas of the substances and moulds of thought. They sought among the facts of language for illustrations of theories; it did not occur to them to collect the facts and organize them to yield their own doctrine. Two distinct practical uses finally brought the chief materials of rules and principles to formulation in the guise of a system of descriptive grammar; first, the interpretation of Homer and the establishment of a correct text; second, the teaching of Greek to aliens, and the establishment of a standard by which to teach. These practical uses came in however rather as fortunate opportunities for practical application of an established discipline than as the motives to its creation. With the Hindoos it was the direct reverse. They had a sacred language and sacred texts rescued from earlier days by means of oral tradition. The meaning of the texts had grown hazy, but the word was holy, and even though it remained but an empty shell to human understanding, it was pleasing to the gods and had served its purpose through the generations to bring gods and men into accord, and must be preserved; likewise the language of ritual and comment thereon, which, as the possession of a limited class, required not only to be protected from overwhelming beneath the floods of the vernacular but demanded to be extended to the use of wider circles in the dominant castes. Sanskrit had already become a moribund or semi-artificial language, before grammar laid hold upon it to continue and extend it. But from the outstart the Hindoo grammarian sat humbly at the feet of language to learn of it, and never assumed to be its master or its guide. Inasmuch as the language had existed and been perpetuated primarily as a thing of the living voice and not of ink and paper, and had been used to reach the ears rather than the eyes of the divine, it followed in a measure remotely true of no other grammatical endeavor that the Hindoo grammar was compelled to devote itself to the most exactly accurate report upon the sounds of the language. The niceties of phonetic discrimination represented in the alpha-

bet itself, the refinements of observation involved in the reports on accent and the phenomenon of *pluti*; the formulation of the principles of sentence phonetics in the rules of *sandhi*; the observations on the physiology of speech scattered through the *Prāti-çākhyas* are all brilliant illustrations of the Hindoo's direct approach to the real substance of living speech. None of the national systems of grammar, the Chinese, the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Greek, or the Arabic had anything to show remotely comparable to this; and up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, despite all the long endeavors expended on Greek and Hebrew and Latin, nothing remotely like it had been known to the Western world. The Greek grammarians had really never stormed the barriers of written language; they were mostly concerned with establishing and teaching literary forms of the language. Even when they dealt with the dialects, they had the standardized literary types thereof before their eyes rather than the spoken forms ringing in their ears. When the grammars of Colebrooke (1805), of Carey (1806), and of Wilkins (1808) opened the knowledge of Sanskrit to European scholars, it involved nothing short of a grammatical revelation, and prepared the way for an ultimate remodeling of language-study nothing short of a revolution. Though these Hindoo lessons in accurate phonetics as the basis of sure knowledge and safe procedure had their immediate and unmistakable influence upon the scientific work of the first half-century, their<sup>1</sup> full acceptance tarried until the second half was well on its way. Even Jakob Grimm, whose service in promoting the historical study of phonology must be rated with the highest, was still so blind to the necessity of phonetics as to express the view that historical grammar could be excused from much attention to the "bunte wirrwar mundartlicher lautverhältnisse," and though von Raumer in his *Die Aspiration und die Lautverschiebung* (1837) had not only set forth in all clearness the theoretical necessity of a phonetic basis, but given practical illustration thereof in the material with which he was dealing, it still was possible as late as 1868 for Scherer in his *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* justly to deplore that "only rarely is a philologist found who is willing to enter upon phonetic

<sup>1</sup>Cf. H. Oertel, *Lectures on the Study of Language*, pp. 30 ff (1901).

discussion.” The phonetic treatises of Brücke<sup>1</sup> (1849 and 1866) and of Merkel (1856 and 1866)<sup>2</sup> failed, though excellent of their kind, to bring the subject within the range of philological interest, and it remained for Eduard Sievers in his *Gründzüge der Lautphysiologie* (1876) and *Gründzüge der Phonetik* (1881) by stating phonetics more in terms of phonology to bridge the gap and establish phonetics as a constituent and fundamental portion of the science of language. The radical change of character assumed by the science in the last quarter of the century is due as much to the consummation of this union as to any one influence.

But it was not phonetics alone that the Indian grammarians were able to teach to the West; they had developed in their processes of identifying the roots of words a scientific phonology that was all but an historical phonology. In some of its applications it was that already, for in explaining the relations to each other of various forms of a given root as employed in different words, even though the explanation was intended to serve the purposes of word analysis and not of sound-theory, the grammarians virtually formulated in repeated instances what we now know as “phonetic laws.” The recognition of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, which antedates Pāṇini, must rank as one of the most brilliant inductive discoveries in the history of linguistic science. The theory involved became the basis of the treatment of the Indo-European vocalism. The first thorough-going formulation, that of Schleicher in his *Compendium* (1861), was conceived entirely in the Hindoo sense, and it was to the opportunity which this formulation offered of overseeing the material and the problems involved that we owe the brilliant series of investigations by Georg Curtius (*Spaltung des a-Lautes*, 1864), Amelung<sup>3</sup> (1871, 1873, 1875), Osthoff (*N-D declination*, 1876), Brugmann (*Nasalis sonans*,

<sup>1</sup>E. Brücke, *Untersuchungen über die Lautbildung und das natürliche System der Sprachlaute* (1849); *Gründzüge der Physiologie und Systematik der Sprachlaute* (1856).

<sup>2</sup>C. L. Merkel, *Anatomie und Physiologie des menschlichen Stimm- und Sprachorgans* (1856); *Physiologie der menschlichen Sprache* (1866).

<sup>3</sup>A. Amelung: *Die Bildung der Tempusstämme durch Vocalsteigerung im Deutschen*, Berlin, 1871. *Erwiderung*. KZ. XXII, 361 ff. completed July, 1873, published 1874, after the author's death. *Der Ursprung der deutschen a-Vocale*, Haupt's Zeitschr. XVIII, 161 ff. (1875).

1876; *Geschichte der stammabstufenden Declination*, 1876), Collitz (*Ueber die Annahme mehrerer grundsprachlichen a-Laute*, 1878), Joh. Schmidt (*Zwei arische a-Laute*, 1879), which led up step by step steadily and unerringly to the definite proof that the Indo-European vocalism was to be understood in terms of the Greek rather than the Sanskrit. These articles, written in the period of intensest creative activity the science has known, represent in the cases of four of the scholars mentioned, viz., Curtius, Amelung, Brugmann, Collitz, the masterpieces of the scientific life of each. Though dealing with a single problem, they combined both through the results they achieved and the method and outlook they embodied to give character and direction to the science of the next quarter-century. Karl Verner's famous article, *Eine Ausnahme der ersten Lautverschiebung*, (KZ. XXIII, 97 ff, July, 1875), which proved of great importance among other things in establishing a connection between I. E. ablaut and accent, belongs to this period; and Brugmann's article, *Nasalis sonans*, which served more than any other work to clear the way for the now prevailing view of ablaut, was influenced by Verner's article, which was by a few months its predecessor. Both articles, it is worthy of noting, were distinctly influenced by the new phonetic; Verner's, it would appear, chiefly by Brücke, Brugmann's, through a suggestion of Osthoff's, by Sievers, whose *Lautphysiologie* had just appeared within the same year. The full effect upon Western science of the introduction of the Indian attitude toward language study appears therefore to have been realized only with the last quarter of the century.

More prompt than the response of European science to the teachings of Hindoo phonetics and phonology had been the acceptance of the Hindoo procedure in word analysis, especially with relation to suffixes and inflexional endings. The centuries of study of Greek and Latin had yielded no clue to any classification or assorting of this material according to meaning or function. The medieval explanation of *dominicus* as *domini custos* was as good as any. Besnier in his essay, *La science des Etymologies* (1694), counted it the mark of a sound etymologist that he restrict his attention to the roots of words, for to bother with the other parts would be "useless and ludicrous." And when

Horne Tooke in the *Diversions of Purley*, II, 429 (1786-1805), just before the sunrise, wrote the startling words: "All those common terminations in any language . . . are themselves separate words with distinct meanings," and (II, 454): "Adjectives with such terminations (*i.e.*, *ly*, *ous*, *ful*, *some*, *ish*, etc.) are, in truth, all compound words"; and when he flung out like a challenge the analysis of Latin *ibo*, 'I shall go,' as three letters containing three words, viz. *i*, 'go,' *b* (*βούλομαι*) 'will,' *o* (*ego*) 'I,' no one seems to have been near enough to the need of such instruction to know whether or not he was to be taken seriously; for the words bore no fruit, and only years afterward, when Bopp's doctrine had been recognized, were they disinterred as antiquarian curiosities. Eleven years later, in the full light of the Sanskrit grammar, Bopp published his *Conjugationssystem*, and the clue had been found. To be sure, Bopp was misguided in his belief that he could identify each element of a word-ending with a significant word, and assign to it a distinct meaning, but he had found the key to an analysis having definite historical value and permitting the identification of such entities as mode-sign, tense-sign, personal-endings, etc. The erroneous portion of his doctrine, based upon his conception of the Indo-European as an agglutinative type of speech, dragged itself as an encumbrance through the first half-century of the science, and, though gasping, still lived in the second edition of Curtius' *Verbum* (1877). This, along with many other mechanical monstrosities of its kind, was gradually banished from the linguistic arena by the saner views of the life-habits of language which had their rise from linguistic psychology as a study of the relations of language to the hearing as well as speaking individual and the relations of the individual to the speech community, and which asserted themselves with full power in the seventies.

Bopp had from the beginning devoted himself to language-study, not as an end in itself, but, as we know from his teacher and sponsor Windischmann,<sup>1</sup> as well as infer from the direction and spirit of his work, he hoped to be able "in this way to penetrate into the mysteries of the human mind and learn something

<sup>1</sup>Introduction to Bopp's *Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache*, p. iv, (1816).



of its nature and its laws." He was therefore unmistakably of the school of the Greeks, not of the Hindoos; for the Greek grammarian in facing language asks the question 'why,' grammar being to him philosophy, whereas the Hindoo asks the question 'what,' grammar being to him a science after the manner of what we call the 'natural sciences.' There is indeed but slight reason for the common practice of dating the beginning of the modern science of language with Bopp, aside from the one simple result of his activity, which must in strict logic be treated as merely incidental thereto, namely, that he gave a practical illustration of the possibility of applying the comparative method for widening the scope and enriching the results of historical grammar.

As Bopp had tried to use the comparative method in determining the true and original meanings of the formative elements, so did his later contemporary, August Friedrich Pott<sup>1</sup> (1802-1887) undertake to use it in finding out the original meaning of words. The search for the etymology or real meaning of words had been a favorite and mostly bootless exercise of all European grammarians from the Greek philosophers down, having its original animus and more or less confessedly its continuing power in the broadly human, though barely on occasion half-formulated conviction, that words and their values belong by some mysterious tie naturally to each other. In the instinct to begin his task Pott was still with the traditions of the Greeks and the Greco-Europeans, but in developing it he was guided into new paths by two forces that had arisen since the century opened. Under the guidance of the comparative method, whereby the vocabularies of demonstrably cognate languages now assumed a determinate relation to each other, he came unavoidably to the recognition of certain normal correspondences of sounds between the different tongues. On the other hand, in almost entire independence hereof, Jakob Grimm in the pursuit of his historical method had formulated the regularities of the mutation of consonants in the Teutonic dialects and had set them forth in a second edition of the first volume of his grammar, appearing in 1822. In all this was contained a strong encouragement as well

<sup>1</sup>K. F. Pott: *Etymologische Forschungen*, 2 vols. Lemgo, 1833-36; 2nd edit. 6 vols., 1859-76.

as warning to apply these new definite tests to every etymological postulate, and therewith arose under Pott's hands the beginnings of a scientific etymology. It was a first promise of deliverance from a long wilderness of caprice.

The positivistic attitude which had been gradually infused into language-study under the influence of the Hindoo grammar finally reached its extremest expression in the works of August Schleicher (1821-1868). The science of language he treated under the guise of a natural science. Language became isolated from the speaking individual or the speaking community to an extent unparalleled in any of his predecessors or successors, and was viewed as an organism having a life of its own and laws of growth or decline within itself. Following the analogies of the natural sciences and trusting to the inferred laws of growth, he ventured to reconstruct from the scattered data of the cognate Indo-European languages the visible form of the mother speech. His confidence in the character of language as a natural growth made him the first great systematizer and organizer of the materials of Indo-European comparative grammar (*Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1861); as confidence in the unerring uniformity of the action of the laws of sound made Karl Brugmann the second (*Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1886-1892).

It is not by accident that the first one to voice outright the dogma of the absoluteness (*Ausnahmslosigkeit*) of the laws of sound was a pupil of Schleicher, August Leskien (*Die Declination in Slavisch-litauischen und Germanischen* xxviii, 1876). The use of this dogma as a norm and test in the hands of a signally active and gifted body of scholars who followed the leadership of Leskien and were known under the title of the *Leipziger Schule* or the *Junggrammatiker*, and the adherence to it in practice of many others who did not accept the theory involved,—a use which was undoubtedly greatly stimulated by Verner's discovery (1875) that a great body of supposed exceptions to Grimm's law were in reality obedient to law, gave to the science in the two following decades, along with abundance of results, an objectivity of attitude and procedure and a firmness of structure that may fairly be said to represent the consummation of

that positivist tendency which we have sought to identify with the influence of Hindoo grammar. This movement, however, derived its impulse by no means exclusively through Schleicher. A new stream had meanwhile blended its waters with the current. The psychology of language as a study of the relations of language to the speaking individual, that is, of the conditions under which language is received, retained, and reproduced, and of the relations of the individual to his speech community, had been brought into play preëminently through the labors of Heymann Steinthal, who, though as a psychologist a follower of Herbart, must be felt to represent in general as a linguist the attitude toward language study first established by Wilhelm v. Humboldt. William D. Whitney shows in his writings on general linguistics the influence of Steinthal, as well as good schooling in the grammar of the Hindoos and much good common sense. His lectures on *Language and the Study of Language* (1867) and the *Life and Growth of Language* (1875)<sup>1</sup> helped chase many a goblin from the sky. Scherer's *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* (1868), combined more than any book of its day the influences of new lines of endeavor, and especially gave hearing to the new work in the psychology as well as the physiology of speech. To this period (1865-1880), under the influence of the combination of the psychological with the physiological point of view, belongs the establishment of scientific common sense in the treatment of language. By virtue of this, as it were, binocular vision, language was thrown up into relief, isolated, and objectivised as it had never been before. Old half-mystical notions, such as the belief in a period of upbuilding in language and a period of decay,—all savoring of Hegel, and the consequent fallacy that ancient languages display a keener speech consciousness than the modern,—speedily faded away. The center of interest transferred itself from ancient and written types of speech to the modern and living. Men came to see that vivisection rather than

---

<sup>1</sup>H. Steinthal: *Der Ursprung der Sprache, im Zusammenhang mit den letzten Fragen alles Wissens*, 1851; *Characteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues*, 1860; *Einleitung in die Psychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, 1881; *Gesch. der Sprachen, bei den Griechen und Römern*, 1863, 1890-91. Also editor with Lazarus of the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, from 1859.

morbid anatomy must supply the method and spirit of linguistic research. The germs of a new idea affecting the conditions under which cognate languages may be supposed to have differentiated out of a mother speech, and conceived in terms of the observed relations of dialects to languages, were infused by Johannes Schmidt's *Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der indogerman. Sprachen* (1872). The rigid formulas of Schleicher's *Stammbaum* melted away before Schmidt's *Wellentheorie* and its line of successors down to the destructive theories of Kretschmer's *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griech. Sprache* (1896). Herein as in many another movement of the period we trace the results of applying the lessons of living languages to the understanding of the old. A remarkable document thoroughly indicative of what was moving in the spirit of the times was the Introduction to Osthoff and Brugmann's *Morphologische Untersuchungen*, Vol. I (1878). But the gospel of the period, and its theology for that matter, was most effectively set forth in Hermann Paul's *Principien der Sprachgeschichte* (1st edit., 1880), a work that has had more influence upon the science than any since Jakob Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*. Paul was the real successor of Steinthal. He also represented the strictest sect of the positivists in historical grammar. As a consequence of the union in Paul of the two tendencies, his work acquires its high significance. He established the reaction from Schleicher's treatment of language science as a natural science; he showed it to be beyond peradventure one of the social sciences, and set forth the life conditions of language as a socio-historical product.

The work of the period dominated by Paul and the neo-grammarians, as well as the theories of method proclaimed, show, however, that the two factors just referred to had not reached in the scientific thought and practice of the day a perfect blending. A well-known book of Osthoff's bears the title *Das physiologische und psychologische Moment in der sprachlichen Formenbildung* (1879). The title is symptomatic of the times. The physiological and the psychological were treated as two rival interests vying for the control of language. What did not conform to the phonetic laws, in case it were not a phenomenon of mixture, was to be explained if possible as due to analogy. This dualism could

be expected to be but a temporary device like the setting up of Satan over against God, in order to account for the existence of sin. A temporary device it has proved itself to be. The close of the first century of the modern science of language is tending toward a unitary conception of the various forms of historical change in language. The process by which the language of the individual adjusts itself to the community speech differs in kind no whit from that by which dialect yields to the standard language of the larger community. The process by which the products of form-association or analogy establish themselves in language differ in no whit in kind from that by which new pronunciations of words, *i.e.*, new sounds make their way to general acceptance. The process by which loan-elements from an alien tongue adjust themselves to use in a given language differs psychologically and fundamentally no whit from either of the four processes mentioned. In fact they all, all five, are phenomena of 'mixture in language.'<sup>1</sup> The process, furthermore, by which a sound-change in one word tends to spread from word to word and displace the old throughout the entire vocabulary of the language is also a process of 'mixture,'<sup>2</sup> and depends for its momentum in last analysis upon a proportionate analogy after the same essential model as that by which an added sound or a suffix is carried by analogy from word to word. All the movements of historical change in language respond to the social motive; they all represent in some form the absorption of the individual into the community mass. It has therewith become evident that there is nothing physiological in language that is not psychologically conditioned and controlled. So then it appears that the

<sup>1</sup>See O. Bremer, *Deutsche Phonetik*, Vorwort X ff. (1893); B. I. Wheeler, *Causes of Uniformity in Phonetic Change*; *Transac. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, XXIII, 1 ff. (1901).

<sup>2</sup>A point of view involving the recognition of a more recondite form of speech-mixture is that first suggested by G. I. Ascoli (*Sprachwissenschaftliche Briefe*, pp. 17 ff., 1881-86; trsl. 1887), whereby the initiation of phonetic and syntactical changes in language, and ultimately the differentiation of dialects and even of languages may assume relation to languages of the substratum, as they may be termed, *i.e.*, prior and disused languages of peoples or tribes who have through the fate of conquest or assimilation been absorbed into another speech community. Notably has this point of view been urged by H. Hirt (*Indog. Forschungen*, IV, 36 ff., 1894), and by Wechssler (*Giebt es Lautgesetze*, pp. 99 ff.) With this point of view the science of language will have largely to deal, we are persuaded, in the second century of its existence.

modern science of language has fairly shaken itself free again from the natural sciences and from such influences of their method and analogies as were intruded upon it by Schleicher and his period (1860-80), and after a century of groping and experiment has definitely oriented and found itself as a social science dealing with an institution which represents more intimately and exactly than any other the total life of man in the historically determined society of men.

Within the history of the science of language the beginning of the nineteenth century establishes beyond doubt a most important frontier. To appreciate how sharp is the contrast between hither and yonder we have only to turn to any part or phase of the work yonder,—the derivation of Latin from Greek, or mayhap, to be most utterly scientific, from the Aeolic dialect of Greek, the sage libration of the claims of Dutch as against Hebrew to be the original language of mankind, the bondage to the forms of Greek and Latin grammar as well as to the traditional point of view of the philosophical grammar of the Greeks, the subordination of grammar to logic, the hopeless etymologies and form analyses culminating in the phantasies of Hemsterhuis and Valckenaeer, the lack of any guiding clue for the explanation of how sound or form came to be what it is, and the curse of arid sterility that rested upon every effort. All the ways were blind and all the toil was vain. On the hither side, however, there is everywhere a new leaven working in the mass. What was that leaven? To identify if possible what it was has been the purpose of this review. I think we have seen it was not the influence of the natural sciences, certainly not directly; wherever that influence found direct application it led astray. It was not in itself the discovery of the comparative method, for that proved but an auxiliary to a greater. If a founder must be proclaimed for the modern science of language, that founder was clearly Jakob Grimm, not Franz Bopp.

The leaven in question was comprised of two elements. One was found in the establishment of historical grammar, for this furnished the long-needed clue; the other was found in the discovery of Hindoo grammar, for this disclosed the fruitful attitude for linguistic observation. Historical grammar furnished

the missing clue, because it represented the form of language as created, what it is, not by the thought struggling for expression, but by historical conditions antecedent to it. Hindoo grammar furnished the method of observation because by its fundamental instinct it asked the question *how* in a given language does one say a given thing, rather than *why* does a given form embody the thought it does.

The germinal forces which have made this century of the science of language are not without their parallels in the century of American national life we are met to celebrate today. Jakob Grimm was of the school of the Romanticists and he gained his conception of historical grammar from his ardor to derive the institutions of his people direct from their sources in the national life. The acquaintance of European scholars with the grammar of India arose from a counter-spirit in the world of the day whereby an expansion of intercourse and rule was bringing to the wine-press fruits plucked in many various fields of national life. Thus did the spirit of national particularism reconcile itself, in the experience of a science, with the fruits of national expansion. After like sort has the American nation in its development for the century following upon the typical event of 1803 combined the widening of peaceful interchange and common standards of order with strong insistence upon the right of separate communities in things pertaining separately to them to determine their lives out of the sources thereof. Therein has the nation given fulfillment to the prophetic hope of its great democratic imperialist, Thomas Jefferson,<sup>1</sup> "I am persuaded no constitution was ever before so well calculated as ours for extensive empire and self-government."

The linguistic science of the second century will build upon the plateau leveled by the varied toils and experiences of the first. More than ever those who are to read the lessons of human speech will gain their power through intimate sympathetic acquaintance with the historically conceived material of the individual language. But though the wide rangings of the comparative method have for the time abated somewhat of their interest

---

<sup>1</sup>Letter to Mr. Madison, 1809.

and their yield, it will remain that he who would have largest vision must gain perspective by frequent resort to the extra-mural lookouts. Language is an offprint of human life, and to the student of human speech nothing linguistic can be ever foreign.





ON THE INFLUENCE OF LUCRETIVS  
ON HORACE

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL.

---

The purpose of this inquiry is the examination of Horace for evidence of Lucretian influence. In a general way it has been a commonplace of literary criticism that the one was indebted to the other, and the scholiasts and editors have cited many parallel passages. The editors of Lucretius have also pointed out in Horace similitude in thought and expression, and the subject has been treated in special monographs by Goebel, Reisacker and Weingärtner. Reisacker's program (Breslau, 1873) I have seen and have found in it little to my purpose. The other two (Goebel: *Horaz und Lukrez*, *Zeitschr. f. d. oesterr. Gymn.* 8 (1857), 421-427; Weingärtner:<sup>1</sup> *De Horatio Lucretii imitatore*, Halle, 1874) I have not been able to procure, but from criticisms of them I fancy there is little in them for this special inquiry.

**Sat. I.** Beginning with the Satires, Horace's earliest work, and examining them in their present order without regard to the exact dates of their composition, I find in 1 I l 13 *cetera de genere hoc*, a Lucretian phrase occurring in 3, 481 and elsewhere. Then in 22 *praeterea* occurs as a word of transition that is frequent in Lucretius, and in 25 *ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi | doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima*, a reminiscence of *Lucr.* 1, 936 *sed*

---

<sup>1</sup> After this paper was written Weingärtner's dissertation was found in *Diss. Phil. Hal.* II, 1 sq. The canons adopted by him for determining influence appear to me to be too lax.

veluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes | cum dare conantur prius oras pocula circum | contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore. Plato, *Laws* 659 e, says that the sick are given wholesome food in pleasant meat and drink, but Quintilian<sup>1</sup> quotes and comments on Lucretius; Jerome<sup>2</sup> mentions the honey, and Ausonius<sup>3</sup> the wormwood also; Seneca<sup>4</sup> the Elder mentions the wormwood only, and Pliny<sup>5</sup> the Younger reduces the allusion to unpleasant food urged on with caressing tones. Later, Sir Philip Sidney<sup>6</sup> turns the wormwood into rhubarb and Tasso<sup>7</sup> continues the tradition. Here I think is a genuine case of literary influence from Lucretius down; so far as the evidence shows.—28 vertit arato and Lucr. 1, 211, vertentes vomere have no connection.—50 quid referat intra | naturae fines viventi may be compared with Epicurus' Κυρία Δόξαι 15 (Diog. Laert. X 144) ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλουτοῦτος καὶ ὀρίσται καὶ εὐπόριστός ἐστιν ὁ δὲ τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν εἰς ἀπειρον ἐκπίπτει.

Horace was not dependent entirely on Lucretius for his knowledge of Epicureanism.—In 64 quatenus id facit — Lucr. 3, 424 quatenus est, cf. 218 and 2, 927; the fact that Horace and Ovid follow L. in the causal use of quatenus shows merely their agreement in a development of the language.—In 68 Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat | flumina — L. 3, 981 nec miser impendens magnum timet aere saxum, different forms of the myths are used.—70 saccis | indormis inhians — L. 1, 36 inhians in te, dea, visus is a mere agreement in the use of a word.—98 ne se penuria victus — L. 5, 1007 penuria deinde cibi belongs to every day language.—117 fit ut raro qui se vixisse beatum | dicat et exacto contentus tempore vita | cedat uti conviva satur — L. 3, 938 cur non ut plenus vitae conviva

<sup>1</sup> 3, 1, 4.

<sup>2</sup> In. Ruf 1, § 463.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Suas. 6, 16.

<sup>5</sup> 1, 8, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Defense of Poetry, p. 23, ed. Cook.

<sup>7</sup> Ger. Lib. I, iii.

recedis, and 959 ante | quam satur ac plenus possis discedere rerum. The conception is traced back to Bion through Teles to Ps-Aristotle, and to Job, and is parodied by Babrius. It occurs in Cicero and Plutarch, and in La Fontaine and Chénier. It is formulated by Epicurus himself. Probably Horace got it from Epicurean sources, perhaps from L. And finally, 121 verbum non amplius addam — L. 3, 941 cur amplius addere quaeris, is a mere coincidence.

- 2 In the second satire, verse 8 praeclaram ingrato stringat malus ingluvie rem — L. 3, 1003 deinde animi ingratham naturam pascere semper merely agree in sentiment.— 32 sententia dia Catonis — L. 3, 371 Democriti — sancta sententia ponit may be paralleled from Lucilius, Tacitus and Homer. It is a paraphrase that does not belong to any one in particular.— 57 (amator) qui patrium mimae donat fundumque Laremque — L. 4, 1129 et bene parta patrum fiunt anademata, mitrae agree in describing the extravagance of the lover.— 104 ante | quam — L. 3, 939 ante | quam may be paralleled from *Aetna* and Manilius and occurs but once in each of them. This may be a case where Lucretius' metrical technique had some influence, for there are undoubted imitations of L. in the *Aetna* and in Manilius.— 119 namque parabilem amo venerem facilemque — L. 4, 1071 volvivagaque vagus Venere ante recentia cures is an agreement in a prescription.— 133 denique as the third member of a series is a common Lucretian occurrence, but who would say that it is solely Lucretian?

- 3 3, 14 toga, quae defendere frigus | quamvis crassa queat — L. 5, 1429 dum plebeia tamen sit quae defendere possit; here rhythm leads me to believe that there is imitation.— 26 cernis acutum. — L. 4, 802 acute | cernere is a chance agreement. From 38 to 52 is the well known passage where Horace describes the blindness of lovers and parents in turning the very defects of their loved ones into virtues. Lucretius has something similar of lovers in 4, 1155-1169. Plato mentions the principle in Rep. 474; Theocritus, Ovid, Martial, Molière allude to it.

Any one who has witnessed the phenomenon can bear testimony to its occurrence, and we shall not be justified in inferring imitation unless the phraseology leads in that direction. Delectant 40 agrees with in deliciis 1156. — 45 male parvus — 1162 parvula; there seems no other verbal agreement. — 56 sincerum vas — 6, 17 vitium vas efficere may possibly be influenced by L. on account of Epist. I 2 54. 66 communi sensu — L. 1, 422 communis sensus is an agreement in sound but not in sense. The sketch of human progress in 98-112 has much in common with L. — 98 utilitas, iusti prope mater et aequi is Epicurean and does not expressly occur in L. whose account agrees with that of Diodorus I 8. Diodorus says *Xpeía*, usus, became man's teacher. — 99 cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris — L. 5, 821 quare etiam atque etiam maternum nomen adepta | terra tenet merito. quoniam genus ipsa creavit | humanum atque animal prope certo tempore fudit. — 100 mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter — 5, 939 glandiferas inter curabant corpore quercus. — 101 unguibus et pugnīs, dein fustibus, atque ita porro | pugnabant armīs — 5, 1283 arma antiqua manus unguēs dentesque fuerunt | et lapides et item silvarum fragmina rami. — 103 donec verba quibus voces sensusque notarent, | nominaque invenere — 5, 1057 si genus humanum, cui vox et lingua vigeret, pro vario sensu varia res voce notaret. — 105 oppida coeperunt munire et ponere leges — 5, 1108 condere coeperunt urbis arcemque locare. — 108 ignotis perierunt mortibus illi — 5, 326 cur supera bellum Thebanum etc. — 109 venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum — 5, 962 Venus in silvis iungebat corpora amantum. — 110 viribus editior caedebat — 5, 963 conciliatrix enim vel mutua quamque cupido | vel violenta viri vis atque impensa libido. — 111 iura inventa metu iniusti fateare necessest — 5, 1144 iuraque constituere. 1151 metus maculat poenarum praemia vitae. Fateare necessest is a Lucretian formula and clinches the evidence that Horace was not only familiar with Epicurean doctrine but had read Lucretius' description. — 112 tem-

pora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi — 5, 1276 tempora rerum.

- 4        4, 76 locus -- conclusus — 4, 458 conclusoque loco is a mere coincidence like *avet* 87, and also the syntax of 105 *insuevit -- hoc me* with *Lucr.* 4, 1282 *insuescat <te> degere* and that of 106 *vitiorum quaeque* and *Lucr.* 4, 1005 *quaeque -- seminiorum*. . .

- 5        In the fifth, line 73 *vaga -- flamma* — *L.* 6, 152 *flamma vagetur* is a mere chance agreement, but at the close of the satire, 101 *namque deos didici securum agere aevum* — *L.* 2, 646 *omnis enim per se divom natura necessest | immortalis aevo summa cum pace fruatur etc.*, and *L.* 5, 82 *nam bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevom*; is almost a quotation from *L.* The Lucretian passage occurs again in 6, 58, and *Horace* 102 *nec si quid miri faciat natura, deos id | tristes ex alto caeli demittere tecto* correspond in thought to *L.* 6, 50 *cetera quae fieri in terris caeloque tuentur | mortales*: they attribute their ignorance to the gods who, of course, can not be angry, but will bring about a disturbed mental state in man. *Horace* here is jesting and is speaking lightly of Epicurean principles.

- 6        In the sixth satire, line 3 *olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarint* — *L.* 3, 1028 *magnis qui gentibus imperitarunt*, *L.* is undoubtedly following *Ennius*. *Horace* is, I think, following *L.* here. 18 *longe longeque remotos* — 3, 69 *longe longeque remosse* is noteworthy. In the eighth, line 10 *commune sepulcrum* corresponds to *L.* 5, 259 *commune sepulcrum*. The thought variously expressed is a trivial one. In 46 *displosa sonat quantum vesica* — *L.* 6, 129 *vesicula -- saepe ita dat magnum sonitum* is a chance agreement.— In the ninth satire, 24 *quis membra movere | mollius* — *L.* 4, 789 *molliora membra movere* is a reference to dancing merely.— 34 *simul atque adoleverit aetas* — *L.* 3, 449 *adolevit viribus aetas*: here is another national idiom.— In the tenth, 49 *haerenti capiti cum multa laude coronam* — *L.* 1, 929 *meo capiti petere inde coronam* is a commonplace.

**Sat. II.** In the second book of the satires, line 17 of the first satire has Scipiadam — L. 3, 1034 Scipiadas; this usage is conventional in the hexameter.— 25 accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis — L. 4, 450 bina lucernarum florentia lumina flammis is merely a physiological allusion.— 52 dente lupus, cornu taurus petit — 5, 1034 cornua -- illis iratus petit. Here is agreement in a word for "butt."— 77 inlidere dentem — 4, 1080 dentis inlidunt calls for no remark.

2 In the second satire 17 cum sale panis | latrantem stomachum bene leniet — 2, 17 nil aliud sibi naturam latrare; the expressive metaphor was known to Homer and Ennius.— 28, the hiatus num adest — 3, 1082 dum abest shows metrical license and testifies to a certain agreement of Horace's satirical hexameter with the didactic and undeveloped Lucretian.— 83 diem festum rediens advexerit annus — 1, 311 multis solis redeuntibus annis; the metaphor of the returning year is sufficiently trite.— 88 tarda senectus — 1, 414 tarda -- senectus; this quality of age calls for little originality.— 104 cur improbe carae — 3, 1026 fuit improbe rebus. The convenient dactylic word in the fifth foot is found in Virgil and Persius also, and is without significance. The syntactical agreement in 105 emetiris acervo — 2, 703 egnigni corpore belongs to historical syntax:

3 In the third satire occur 49 palantes error certo de tramite pellit — 2, 10 errare atque viam palantis quaerere vitae, and 6, 27 viam monstrant tramite parvo. The way of life, from which the ignorant and the wicked stray, is a conception that arises from primitive theologizing and needs not to be referred to any particular writer. Yet the strange word palantes leads me to think that Horace had Lucretius in mind here.— 95 virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris | divitiis parent — 5, 1114 aurum -- quod facile et validis et pulchris dempsit honorem. This melancholy truth of the supremacy of riches comes home to every one as it did to Horace and Lucretius. I do not know that H. is altogether indebted to

L. for seeing what all must have seen. But the reference to the beauty of riches is, I think, a reminiscence of Lucretius. The monosyllabic use of quoad in 91 may point also to L. who has it in 5, 1213 and elsewhere.—141 splendida bilis—L. 6, 1187 spendidus humor is a common medical allusion.—153 ni cibus atque|ingens accedit stomacho fultura ruenti—L. 4, 867 cibus ut suffulciat artus is another.—191 reducere—1, 228 reducat merely shows that re could still be long in this compound.—193 cur Ajax -- putrescit—3, 871 aut putescat is due to common mortality.—199 tu cum pro vitula statuis dulcem Aulide natam etc. has no verbal connection with 1, 84-100. Horace could have learned the story of Iphigenia's sacrifice from other sources, yet from the way it is used by him I think there is a Lucretian reminiscence. Improbe in 200 (L. 3, 1025) adds a little to cumulative evidence.—269 fluitantia sorte laboret—3, 1052 fluitans errore vagaris is an agreement in a common metaphor.—283 surpite—2, 314 surpere is an inelegant syncopation which survived from earlier Latin.

- 4 In 4, 90 memori -- pectore — L. 2, 582 memori mente there is an agreement in the use of a metrical substitute for memoria.—In 94 fontes ut adire remotos|atque haurire queam is a parody on L. 1, 928 integros accedere fontis|atque haurire. This sentiment of L. had many admirers.

- 6 In 6, 1 modus agri non ita magnus — L. 2, 1172 agri multo modus is a chance agreement.—59 perditur has caused more discussion than L. 2, 831 disperditur. Both are reflections of homely usage.—61 nunc somno et inertibus horis|ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae — 3, 1066 in somnum gravis atque oblivia quaerit there is only a metrical agreement in the use of oblivia. 101 ponit -- vestigia — 3, 4 pono -- vestigia is a common locution.

- 7 In 7, 28 Romae rus optas; absentem rusticus urbem — 3, 1063 currit agens mannos ad villam praecipitanter -- properans urbem petit atque revisit may be paralleled from other moralizing. The discontent is human.—49



turgentis verbera caudae — 4, 1034 turgida semine multo is a physiological agreement.—In 81 the metrical imperitas again occurs.—90 foribusque repulsum | perfundit — 4, 1177 exclusus amator: the thought is trite.—In 105 enim in the third place, as in L. 1, 680, may be paralleled from Cicero also.

- 8 In 8, 51 inulas -- amaras — 2, 430 inulae there is merely a mention of a bitter herb.—75 tibi di -- comoda dent — 3, 2 comoda vitae: comoda was common in the popular philosophy (Reid on Cic. *Acad.* 2, 231).

**Sat.  
in general.**

My general conclusion from the Satires is (a) Horace was an Epicurean at that stage of his development; (b) he was familiar with Epicurean principles some of which he had gained from Lucretius<sup>1</sup>; (c) there is direct imitation of Lucretius in his work; (d) there is a metrical influence also from Lucretius; (e) there are so many places where Horace and Lucretius agree in small matters that are also found in other authors, that the cumulative effect on the reader is Lucretian.

**Epodes.** I now pass to the Epodes.

- 2 In the second epode line 7 superba civium | potentiorum limina — L. 2, 50; 3, 1027 rerumque potentes is a chance agreement.—13 falce ramos amputans — 5, 936 decidere falcebu<sup>1</sup> ramos is an agricultural allusion.—23 libet iacere modo sub antiqua ilice, | modo in tenaci gramine — L. 2, 29 prostrati in gramine molli is a picnic agreement, so to say.—41 perusta solibus — 5, 251 perusta | solibus seems idiomatic, as also 46 distenta siccet ubera — 1, 259 uberibus-distentis.—4, 14 et Appiam mannis terit — 3, 1063 currit agens mannos: the word mannus is not found before L.; probably these ponies were imported about his time.—6, 6 amica vis pastoribus — 6, 1222 fida canum vis: I think that neither Horace nor Lucretius was indebted to Theocritus (5, 106) unless Theocritus first introduced dogs into Italy. The paraphrase with vis is very common in L. but not unknown

<sup>1</sup> Usener, *Epicurea*, Index s. v. *Horatius*, shows that Horace had other sources than Lucretius for Epicurean doctrine.

- 9 before and after him.—9, 1 has *repostum*, an agreement with the old epic style that permitted this syncopation.—20 *citae*—4, 576 *voce ciemus* is an agreement in the use of a word in a meaning later uncommon.—11, 2 *amore percussum gravi*—1, 923 *percussit thyrsos*—et *incussit*—*amorem*: this seems idiomatic, as Bentley shows in his note.—13, 14 *Scamandri flumina*—6, 1114 *flumina Nili*: *flumina* is a convenient dactyl for the fifth foot and the use of the plural had become a poetic license that H. thought permissible here as elsewhere in other metres.—14, 13 *non pulchrior ignis* | *accendit obsessam Ilion*—1, 474 *ignis*—*clara accendisset*—*certamen belli*: *ignis* of love is common enough.—16, 31 *tigres subsidere cervis*—4, 1198 *equae maribus subsidere possunt*: this use of *subsidere* is very rare; it was probably a veterinary term.—48 *levis crepante lymphæ desilit pede*—5, 272 *liquido pede detulit undas*: this seems a bold reminiscence of L.—54 *aquosus Euræus arva radat imbribus*—5, 256 *imbribus et ripas radentia flumina rodunt*: the proximity of the two passages in both H. and L. leads me to the conclusion that there is also Lucretian influence here.—In 17, 66 the reference to *Tantalus* is not significant.

**Epodes in general.**

In general, for the Epodes I find in only one of them any real evidence of Lucretian influence, namely in the 16th, one of the earliest written and contemporary with the earliest satires.

**Carmina I.**

- I now pass to the Odes. The first parallel is I, 1, 20  
1 *et præsidium et dulce decus meum*—2, 643 *virtute velint patriam defendere terram* and 3, 897 *non poteris factis florentibus esse, tuisque* | *præsidium*. Here there is nothing common except the thought which is sufficiently trite, as is 27 *catulis fidelibus*—5, 864 *canum fido cum pectore corda*.—2, 9 the prodigy *piscium et summa genus hæsit ulmo*—3, 785 *pisces vivere in arvis* have no connection.  
3 —3, 22 *Oceano dissociabili*—5, 203 *mare quod late terrarum distinct oras*: this notion of the estranging ocean seems Lucretian. The plural *vada* in 24—1, 200 is without significance.—In 30 *nova febrium* | *terris incubuit*

- cohors — 6, 1143 incubit < morbus > tandem populo Pandionis omni, the verb and the metaphor are too common to admit of imitation.— In the fourth ode the mention of Favonius — 1, 11, is unimportant, and in 7 iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente Luna — 5, 737 it ver et Venus, etc., have nothing in common but Venus' coming.— In the seventh ode, line 7 undique decerpam fronti praeponere olivam — 1, 928 novos decerpere flores have little in common; and 15 obscuro deterget nubila caelo — 4, 378 nigrasque sibi abluit umbras is no more significant.— 16 parturit imbres — 6, 259 gravidam tempestatem atque procellis have a common metaphor.— In the 8th, line 10 gestat armis | bracchia — 3, 1049 geris cassa formidine mentem, the verbs are synonyms of habere, an idiomatic use.— 14, lacrimosa Troiae | funera — 5, 326 funera Troiae is trivial. In the 11th, verse 2 nec Babylonios | temptaris numeros — 5, 727 ut Babylonica Chaldaeum doctrina belong to the common consciousness.— 5, oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare — 1, 326 vesco sale saxa peresa and 1, 305 fluctifrago — in litore can have no relation of influence. Line 7 fugerit invida | aetas — 3, 915 iam fuerit is an agreement in the use of a tense.
- 12 In the 12th occurs the Latin word for echo — line 3 recinit iocosa | nomen imago — 4, 571 imagine verbi.— In the 13th, line 12, inpressit memorem dente labris notam — 4, 1109 inspirant pressantes dentibus ora may be paralleled from the erotic poets.— In 16, 8 geminant Corybantes aera — 2, 636 pulsarent aeribus aera is merely a reference to the ceremonies in honor of the Magna Mater. In 22, 17 pigris -- campis — 5, 746 pigrumque rigorem, and 21 sub curru nimium propinqui | solis in terra domibus negata — 5, 204 fervidus ardor | assiduusque geli casus mortalibus aufert are mere commonplaces.— In 24, 2 lugubres -- cantus — 4, 548 lugubri voce querelam have no significance.
- 26 In 26, 2 protervis -- ventis — 6, 111 petulantibus auris have no connection; and 6 fontibus integris — 1, 927

integros -- fontis is not traced to any source earlier than L. Probably there is Lucretian influence here, and the thought occurs repeatedly in later writers.— In 28, 2 mensorem cohibent — 2, 1031 quaeque in se cohibet: this use of cohibeo is found in Cicero as well as elsewhere in Lucretius and Horace. Line 5 aerias temptasse domos animoque rotundum | percurrisse polum morituro — 174 omne immensum peragravit mente animoque: here is a distinct reminiscence.— 7 occidit et Pelopis genitor — 3, 1027 reges rerumque potentes | occiderunt is probably a reminiscence of L. as well of the stock consolations.— 16 via leti — 2, 918 leti -- vias is noteworthy.— 18 avidum mare — 1, 1031 use of an epitheton otiosum.— 19 densentur funera — 3, 71 caedem caede accumulantes and denseri 1, 656 etc.: a Lucretian word. There is much in this puzzling ode that sets it apart from the others; its date is unknown but it must be one of his earliest poems, hence the agreement with L. is not strange. I have no doubt that there was Lucretian influence on the ode.

31 In 31, 8 mordet -- amnis — 5, 256 flumina rodunt is  
34 conventional.— 34 is interesting as a palinode. Verse 2 insanientis dum sapientiae — 5, 10 nunc appellatur sapientia; 5 Diespiter, | igni corusco nubila dividens | plerumque, per purum tonantes | egit equos — 6, 247 nam caelo nulla sereno -- mittuntur < fulmina >, and 6, 400 cur numquam caelo iacit undique puro, also 12 valet ima summis | mutare et insignem attenuat deus, | obscura promens, commonplace though it is, agrees with 5, 1127 fulmine summa vaporant | plerumque. It is natural that in withdrawing from Epicureanism there should be reminiscences from his old authorities for that insaniens sapientia.

**Carm. II.** In the second book of the Odes, in the 17th line of

- 1 the first ode—minaci murmure cornuum — 1, 276 minaci murmure ventus is a mere agreement in onomatopoeia; and 30 in pia proelia — 5, 381 pio nequiquam-bello has no
- 3 significance.— In the third ode which is Epicurean throughout, in the first line aequam -- mentem corre-

- sponds to *aequo animo* 5, 1119; and in 12 the invitation to the picnic is something like 2, 30 sq. In this ode it is remarkable how far Horace differs from Lucretius in describing Epicurean ideals.— In the sixth, line 14 *angulus ridet* — 1, 8 *rident aequora* is a chance agreement in the use of a word; and 21 *beatae postulant arces* — 2, 8 *sapientum templa serena* I should not press.— In 7, 18 *fessum militia latus* | *depone* — 1, 257 *fessae pecudes pingui* -- *corpora deponunt* is a commonplace; and 8, 10 *taciturna noctis* | *signa* — 4, 460 *severa silentia noctis* is another.— In 9, 3 *vexant* -- *procellae* — 1, 275 *venti vis* -- *vexat* is idiomatic.— In 10, 9 *saepius ventis agitur ingens* | *pinus et celsae graviores casu* | *fulgura montes* — 5, 1127 *quoniam ceu fulmine summa vaporant*, 6, 421 *altaque cur plerumque petit loca*; a commonplace which was proverbial.— Line 18 *tacentem* | *suscitat musam* — 2, 413 *musaea mele* -- *expergefata figurant* may go back to a common source but have no mutual connection.— In 11, 13 *cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac* | *pinu iacentes sic temere et rosa* — 2, 30 sq. have only the picnic motif in common.— In 13, 13 *quid quisque vitet, numquam homini satis* | *cautum est in horas* — 3, 1085 *posteraque in dubios fortunam quam vehat aetas* is a commonplace.— In 15, 11 *sive reges* | *sive inopes erimus coloni* — 3, 1035 *ossa dabit terrae proinde ac famul infimus esset*; 15 *per autumnos nocentem* | *corporibus metuemus Austrum* — 5, 220 *cur anni tempora morbos apportant*; 18 *Cocytos errans et Danai genus* — *Sisyphus* — 3, 992 *Tityos-Sisyphus* etc.; 21 *linquenda tellus et domus et placens* | *uxor* — 3, 894 *non domus accipiet te laeta, neque uxor* | *optima*,— these are all commonplaces.— In 16, 2 *prensus Aegaeo* — 6, 429 *depressa* -- *navigia* probably belong to the language of the sea.— Line 9 *non enim gazae* — 2, 37 *nil nostro in corpore gazae*, both with reference to dislodging mental terrors, is a reminiscence of Epicurean doctrine.— 13 *vivitur parvo bene*—5, 1118 *divitiae grandes* -- *sunt vivere parce*; 17 *quid brevi fortes iaculamur aevo* | *multa* — 3, 62 *noctes atque dies niti praestante labore*; 19 *patriae quis exul* | *se quoque*

H. 14 \*

7

fugit—3, 1068 hoc se quisque modo fugitat, quem scilicet, ut fit, | effugere haud potis est; 22 cura nec turmas equitum relinquit—2, 49 nec metuunt sonitus armorum nec fera tela. In this Epicurean ode the agreement with Lucretian doctrine is so striking that a direct influence is probable. The ode is also one of the earliest in time.

- 18 The beginning of 18-non ebur neque aureum | mea renidet in domo lacunar—2, 27 nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet have no immediate connection; the  
20 thought is a commonplace and renideo is frequent.—In 20, 21 absint inani funere naeniae—3, 955 compesce querelas are mutually interpretative.

**Carm. III.** In the first ode of Book III, line 10 hic generosior  
1 | descendat in Campum petitor—2, 11 contendere nobilitate is a mere reference to the advantage of noble birth; and 41 quodsi dolentem nec Phrygius lapis | nec purpurarum --delenit usus—2, 34 nec calidae citius decedunt corpore febres, | textilibus si in picturis ostroque rubenti  
2 | iacteris is another commonplace, as is 2, 29 saepe Diespiter | neclectus incesto addidit integrum—2, 1104 exanimat indignos inque merentis.—In 3, 49 aurum inreperit et sic melius situm—5, 1113 aurumque repertum has no  
3 significance.—In 11, 19 spiritus taeter—3, 581 taetro odore, there is doubt about the genuineness of the Horatian passage. In 17, 12 aquae nisi fallit augur | annosa  
17 cornix and 27, 10 imbrium divina avis inminentum—5, 1084 cornicum ut saecla vetusta | corvorumque greges ubi  
27 aquam dicuntur are merely proverbial.—In 28, 4 munitae --sapientiae reminds one of 2, 7 munita --sapientum templa and is probably a reminiscence of that famous prooemium, here jestingly alluded to.

**Carm. I-III in general.** In the first three books of the Odes Horace is in the maturity of his powers as a lyric poet, and has attained to independence of thought and expression, while at the same time he is free from the tradition of the dactylic hexameter; hence it is no surprise to find so little that can be said confidently to betray Lucretian influence. Add

also that he was following Greek models at this time, and it is not to be wondered at that the only odes where one may state with confidence Lucretian influence are for Book I, the 26th, 28th and 34th; for Book II the 16th; and for Book III the 28th. These are all exceptional for one reason or another, and both Epicurean and Lucretian influence at that stage of his development were at their lowest point.

**Epistles I.** Next in time, roughly speaking, comes the first book of the Epistles, and the first one was probably composed last of all.

In the 42d line is *vides, quae maxima credis | esse mala, exiguum censum turpemque repulsam, | quanto devites animi capitisque labore* — 3, 65 *turpis enim ferme contemptus et acris egestas-quasi iam leti portas cunctarier ante*; these Roman evils are dwelt upon by Lucretius with such force that undoubtedly Horace has him in mind.— In 52 *vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum* — 5, 1113 *aurumque repertum, quod facile et validis et pulchris dempsit honorem* there is again agreement; and in 65 *isne tibi melius suadet, qui rem facias, rem* — 5, 1113 *posterius res inventast* is also reminiscent.— In 82 *idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes*, with what follows, does not differ in thought from 3, 1058 *quid sibi quisque velit nescire et quaerere semper | commutare locum*, etc. This introductory epistle was composed when Lucretian influence over Horace had revived, and when also his philosophical opinion was returning to its early position; at a time when, in spite of his protestation of liberty in verse 13, he says *nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor*.— In the second epistle, line 31 *ad strepitum citharae* — 4, 582 *quorum (faunorum) -- strepitu* is noticeable, as L. seems to be the first to use *strepitus* of a musical sound; and Horace has it also in C. 4, 3, 18 and Ep. 1, 14, 26.— 40 *sapere aude; | incipe* — 3, 1071 *iam rebus quisque relictis | naturam primum studeat cognoscere rerum* are the same injunctions practically; and 47 *non aeris acervus et auri | aegroto domini deduxit corpore febres* — 2, 34 *nec*

- calidae citius decedunt corpore febres is similar.—54 sincerum nisi vas quodcumque infundis acescit — 6, 17 intellegit ibi vitium vas efficere ipsum | omniaque illius vitio corrupier intus. This simile is ultimately Platonic, but had become trite.—56 certum voto pete finem — 6, 25 finem statuit cuppedinis would seem to show reminiscence.—
- 3 3, 19 grex avium — 5, 1085 corvorum greges is not significant.—
- 4 In 4, 16 cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum is noteworthy as a jesting sign of the poet's return to his earlier philosophy and to Lucretius.
- 6 In 6, 1 nil admirari — 5, 83 si tamen interea mirantur is pure Epicurean.— In 3 hunc solem et stellas, etc., correspond in thought to 5, 1204 nam cum suspicimus magni caelestia mundi, etc.—4, formidine nulla — 5, 1218 formidine divom; 11 improvisa species exterrit utrumque — 2, 1040 novitate exterritus ipsa.—24 quidquid sub terra est in aprium proferet aetas — 3, 847 si materiem nostram collegerit aetas agree in the use of aetas, as also 5, 1454 sic unumquicquid paulatim protrahit aetas | in medium.—27 ire tamen restat, Numa quo devenit et Ancus — 3, 1025 lumina sis oculis etiam bonu' Ancus reliquit is proverbial from Ennius. The same thought occurs in C. 4, 7, 14, one of the later odes.
- 7 In 7, 8 opella—1, 1114 opella, the form is quoted only once from Lucretius and Horace; and 24 dignum praestabo me etiam pro laude merentis — 5, 1 quis potis est dignum -- carmen | condere pro rerum maiestate; 76 mannis arvum caelumque Sabinum — 3, 1063 currit agens mannos ad villam praecipitanter; 84 vineta crepat mera — 2, 1170 et crepat are agreements in vocabulary.
- 8 In this epistle is latent Lucretian influence.—In 8, 12 Romae Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Roman is another
- 10 form of the oft repeated thought of 3, 1060 sq.—In 10, 7 musco circumlita saxa nemusque — 5, 951 saxa, super viridi stillantia musco would not be significant except for
- 11 the rarity of the word musco.—In 11, 10 Neptunum procul e terra spectare furem — 2, 1 suave mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis, | e terra magnum alterius



spectare laborem; the thought may have been familiar to Sophocles and Menander, but Horace probably got it from Lucretius since 21 sq. is Epicurean, particularly 27 caelum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt — 3, 1068 hoc se quisque modo fugitat, quem scilicet, ut fit, | effugere haud potis est, etc., and 29 quod petis, hic est, | est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus — 3, 939, 962, etc., aequo animo.

- 12        12, 2 non est ut copia maior -- possit — 5, 979 non erat ut -- posset is an agreement in a Grecism which L. has
- 13        more than once.— 13 dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox of Democritus — 172 vivida vis animi -- omne inmensum peragravit moenia mundi of Epicurus.— 15 sublimia cures — 1, 127 superis de rebus habenda.— 16 quae mare compescant causae, a matter discussed by L. in 6, 608.
- 14        14, 8 istuc mens animusque fert et amat -- rumpere claustra — 2, 264 prorumpere -- quam mens avet ipsa.— 12 stultus uterque locum inmeritum causatur inique is the oft repeated thought of 3, 1059; and 13 animus, qui se non effugit umquam, of 3, 1068; and 14 tacita prece rura petebas, | nunc urbem-optas, of 3, 1067.— 22 incutiunt -- desiderium — 1, 19 incutiens-amorem; and 26 strepitum, are Lucretian.— 35 cena brevis iuvat et prope rivum somnus in herba — 2, 30 propter aquae rivum, etc., which has been compared before. This epistle was unquestionably written
- 18        under Epicurean and Lucretian influence.— 18, 9 virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum — 5, 839 interutrasque nec utrum, utrimque remotum seem to have a metrical likeness.— 71 emissum-verbum — 5, 1044 sonitus emittere linguae seems idiomatic.— 108 quod superest aevi — 3, 904 aevi | quod superest, 5, 206 quod superest arvi: here there may be Lucretian influence as the genitive with quod superest is not common, and the phrase comes later in Ovid and Silius.
- 19        In 19, 21 libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps, | non aliena meo pressa pede — 3, 4 pono vestigia (cf. Sat. 2, 6, 101) — 1, 926 peragro loca nullius ante, trita solo. This seems to be an imitation, and 44 poetica

mella — 1, 947 musaeo melle is also probably reminiscent, even if the source is ultimately Greek, as the adjectives imply.

**Epistles I, in general.** In seven of the twenty epistles of Book I there is, then, Lucretian influence, and throughout the book the poet's attitude to Epicureanism is friendly.

**Carm. Saec.** In the Carmen Saeculare there is nothing noteworthy.

**Epist. II.** In the second book of the Epistles, 1, 8 agros adsignant — 5, 1110 agros divisere is without significance. — 11 notaque fatali portenta labore subegit — 5, 37 sunt portenta perempta have Hercules in common merely; and 13 urit enim fulgore suo — 4, 304 (329) splendor -- acer adurit is not remarkable. — 102 hoc paces habuere bonae ventique secundi — 5, 1230 ventorum pavidus paces animasque secundas is a chance agreement of words.

2 In Ep. 2, 32 clarus ob id — 1, 639 clarus ob obscuram: in spite of Lachmann's dictum that Horace got this from Lucretius I prefer to wait until the *Thesaurus* reaches *ob* before admitting the indebtedness. — In 58 mirantur amantque — 1, 641 admirantur amantque seems unimportant. — 125 Cyclopa movetur — 3, 569 moventur -- motus; 135 rupem et puteum vitare patentem — 4, 509 praecipitesque locos vitare; 138 redit ad sese — 4, 1023 ad se redeunt, — all fail to show any filiation. — 151 proficiente nihil curarier — 2, 39 gazae | proficiunt is an agreement in vocabulary merely. — 159 mancipat usus, 175 perpetuus nulli datur usus — 3, 971 vitaeque mancipio nulli datur omnibus usu are commonplaces. — 207 caret mortis formidine et ira — 3, 1045 indignabere obire: here Horace unquestionably has Epicurean doctrine in mind, yet I doubt if the Lucretian passage influenced him. — 213 vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis — 3, 938 cur non -- ut conviva recedis, 962 † magnis concede: necessest is also Epicurean.

**Epist. II, in general.** In the second book of the Epistles there is strong Epicurean influence and some agreement in expression with Lucretius, yet I do not find any real evidence of Lucretian tradition.

**Carmina IV.** In the fourth book of Odes the 3rd ode has three

- 3 cases of verbal agreement: 4 clarabit pugilem — 3, 36  
claranda: 18 strepitum — 4, 582 strepitu: and 22 praetere-  
4 untium — 1, 318 praeterque meantum.— In 4, lines 13, 24,  
63 — 1, 14: 5, 409: 1, 8 seem to be mere verbal agree-  
5 ments.— 5, 29 condit quisque diem — 3, 1090 condere  
7 saecula is idiomatic.— In 7, 9 frigora mitescunt Zephyris.  
ver proterit aestas, interitura, simul | pomifer autumnus  
fruges effuderit, et nox | bruma recurrit iners — 5, 737 it  
ver et Venus, et Veneris praenuntius ante | pennatus  
graditur, Zephyri vestigia propter, etc., have a similarity  
in thought, but not much of expression; as is also the case  
with 14 nos, ubi decidimus | quo pius Aeneas, quo Tullus  
dives, et Ancus, | pulvis et umbra sumus — 3, 1025 lumina  
sis oculis etiam bonus Ancu' reliquit. Probably this ode  
would have been written in much the same form if there  
had never been a Lucretius.

- 9 In 9, 5 si priores Maeonius tenet | sedes Homerus — 3,  
1037 Homerus | sceptrum potitus, and 25 vixere fortes ante  
Agamemnona -- carent quia vate sacro — 5, 326 cur supera  
bellum Thebanum et funera Troiae | non--cecinerunt poetae?  
This ode is one of the latest and ripest and, although the  
thought has much in common with Epicureanism and  
with Lucretius, yet it seems to me that Horace is inde-  
pendent in his treatment.

- 11 In 11, 6 ridet argento domus — 3, 21 aether -- ridet; 11  
flammae trepidant rotantes — 6, 202 rotantque -- flammam  
13 are both without significance, as is also 13, 20 sur-  
14 puerat — 2, 314 surpere, and 14, 6 inlustrant oras — 3, 2  
inlustrans commoda vitae.— 28 minitatur agris — 5, 386  
amnes-minantur | omnia diluviare are both commonplaces;  
see Bentley *ad. loc.* for the latter.

**Carmina IV, in general.** In the fourth book of the Odes I find no evidence of  
Lucretian influence. Horace had attained his majority,  
and even if all the odes of this book are not his latest pro-  
ductions, yet taken as a whole, the odes of the last book  
show little indebtedness to any definite predecessor: the  
10th (O crudelis adhuc) is of course an exception and is

probably an early study, and I would not except the Melpomene ode, the 3rd.

**Ars Poetica.** Finally there remains the *Ars Poetica*. 49 *indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum*—1, 138 *multa novis verbis-cum sit agendum* is a reminiscence.—61 *prima cadunt*—4, 376 *primage dispereunt* has no significance.—70 *cecidere cadentque*—3, 969 can not be pressed.—111 *interprete lingua*—6, 1149 *interprete lingua* is a coincidence, and may be paralleled in thought from Cicero.—173 *laudator temporis acti | se puero*—2, 1167 *laudat fortunas saepe parentis* is a commonplace.—359 *dormitat Homerus*—3, 1037 *Homerus-sopitu'* quietest have no connection.—393 *rabidos leones*—4, 712 *rabidi leones* is an agreement in a standing epithet. Finally 467 *idem facit occidenti*—3, 1038 *eadem aliis*—quiete is a syntactical agreement.

**Ars Poetica, in general.** There seems, then, to be but one conscious reminiscence in the *Ars Poetica*.

**General Conclusions.** The final results of this examination may be summarized as follows: in early life when Horace wrote his *Satires*, Lucretian influence was strong upon him; during his more mature years, as shown by his *Odes*, direct Lucretian influence is for the most part absent. In the first book of the *Epistles* the influence of Lucretius again revives, but afterwards in the second book of the *Epistles*, the fourth book of the *Odes*, and in the *Ars Poetica*, it is practically non-existent.

The parts of Lucretius' poem that were most familiar to Horace were the several prooemia, the hymn to Death, 3, 830 sq., and the social epic in 5, 782 sq., that is, the more poetical parts of the work. References to the purely didactic parts are infrequent.



## PREFACE.

All but a few copies of the first edition of this pamphlet were destroyed in the San Francisco fire. Hence a reprinting has become necessary; and in the course of it I have made such additions and corrections as were possible without altering the pagination. In so doing I have been aided by the kindly reviews of Dr. Kirchner in the *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* for 1906, pages 980 ff., and Professor Capps in *Classical Philology*, I, pages 438 ff. In addition, the article by Dr. Kirchner, referred to on page 146, and the pamphlet by Dr. Sundwall, mentioned on page 165, have been found useful. I have also entered archon names in the opening table in accordance with later conclusions reached by M. Colin and M. Roussel in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* for 1906 pp. 219 f. and 1907 pp. 33 ff., and by me in articles published in *Classical Philology*, II 3 and *Klio* VII 2. Speaking generally, the text has been altered very slightly.

W. S. F.



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS  
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

Vol. 1, No. 5, pp. 131-173

April 14, 1906

[Reprinted September 10, 1907]

THE PRIESTS OF ASKLEPIOS  
A NEW METHOD OF DATING ATHENIAN ARCHONS

BY  
WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON.

I.

The substance of this investigation can be presented best as a commentary on the following table:

Year B.C.	Tribe of Secretary of the Treasurers of Athena	Tribe of Secretary and of Priest	Deme of Secretary	Priest of Asklepios
353/2		Antiochis	Pallene	
352/1		Erechtheis	Euonymon?	
351/0	Hippothontis	Aigeis		
350/9	Aiantis	Pandionis		Δήμων Δημομέλους Παϊα- νιεύς
349/8	Antiochis	Leontis	Phrearrhoi	
348/7	Erechtheis	Akamantis		
347/6	Aigeis	Oineis	Acharnai	
346/5	Pandionis	Kekropis	Phlya	Θουγένης
345/4	Leontis	Hippothontis	Oion	Πάτα[ικος] ('Ελευσίσιος)
344/3	Akamantis	Aiantis		Λυσίθεος [Τρ]ικορύσιος
343/2	Oineis	Antiochis	Aigilia	
342/1	Kekropis	Erechtheis		
341/0	Hippothontis	Aigeis	Araphen	Εὐνικίδης 'Αλαί(εύς)
340/9	Aiantis	Pandionis	Kytheros	Διοκλῆς Μυρρι(νούσιος)
339/8	Antiochis	Leontis		Πολύξενος (Σουνιεύς)
338/7	Erechtheis	Akamantis		Τεισίας
337/6	Aigeis	Oineis	Acharnai	
336/5	Pandionis	Kekropis	Xypete	[Τε]λεσί[ας] Φλυ(εύς)
335/4	Leontis	Hippothontis	Acherdus	Θεο-
334/3	Akamantis	Aiantis	Phaleron	Εὔμηστος
333/2	Oineis	Antiochis	Pallene	Φανόμαχος
332/1	Kekropis	Erechtheis	Anagyros	Εὐδίδακτος (Λαμπτρέύς)

[This investigation was begun as a preliminary study to a work on later Athenian history for the prosecution of which the Carnegie Institution of Washington has generously provided the funds. Its general results were presented to the Philological Club of the University of California on February 26, 1906.]



Year B.C.	Tribe of Secretary of the Treasurers of Athena	Tribe of Secretary and of Priest	Deme of Secretary		Priest of Asklepios
331/0	Hippothontis	Aigeis	Kollytos		Φιλοκτήμων
330/9	Aiantis	Pandionis	Paiania		Διοφείδης
329/8	Antiochis	Leontis	Eupyridai		Φαίδριππος ('Υβιάδης)
328/7	Erechtheis	Akamantis	Hagnus?		'Ανδροκλῆς [... ἐκ Κεραμ]έων
327/6	Aigeis	Oineis	Acharnai		Χαρίνος
326/5	Pandionis	Kekropis			Θρασύβουλος
325/4	Leontis	Hippothontis	Eleusis		'Αρχέστρατος
324/3	Akamantis	Aiantis	Rhamnus		Λυσίας
323/2	Oineis	Antiochis	Alopeke		Πυθόνικος
322/1	Kekropis	Erechtheis	Kephisia		'Επικράτης
Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribe of Secretary	Tribe of Priest	Priest of Asklepios
307/6	Anaxikrates	Diomeia	Aigeis	Erechtheis	
306/5	Koroihos	Rhamnus	Aiantis	Aigeis	
305/4	Euxenippos	Alopeke?	Antiochis	Pandionis	
304/3	Pherekles	Gargettos	Antigonis	Leontis	
303/2	Leostratos	Phegus	Erechtheis	Akamantis	
302/1	Nikokles	Plotheia	Aigeis	Oineis	
301/0	Klearchos	Probalinthos	Pandionis	Kekropis	
300/9	Hegemachos		Leontis	Hippothontis	
299/8	Fuktemon	Kephale	Akamantis	Aiantis	
298/7	Mnesidemos		Oineis	Antiochis	
297/6	Antiphates		Kekropis	Antigonis	
296/5	Nikias	Azenia	Hippothontis	Demetrias	
295/4	Nikostratos	Phaleron	Aiantis	Erechtheis	
294/3	Olympiodoros		Antiochis	Aigeis	
293/2	Charinos		Antigonis	Pandionis	
292/1	Philippos		Demetrias	Leontis	
291/0	Kimon I		Erechtheis	Akamantis	
290/9	Diokles	Halai	Aigeis	Oineis	
289/8	Diotimos	Paiania	Pandionis	Kekropis	
288/7	Isaios		Leontis	Hippothontis	Φυλῆς Χαίρου ['Ελευσ]ί- νιος
287/6	Euthios	Cholargos	Akamantis	Aiantis	
286/5	Xenophon		Oineis	Antiochis	
285/4	Urios	Aixone	Kekropis	Antigonis	
284/3	Telokles?		Hippothontis	Demetrias	
283/2	Menekles	Trikorynthos	Aiantis	Erechtheis	
282/1	Nikias Otr.	Alopeke	Antiochis	Aigeis	
281/0	Aristonymos	Aithalidai	Antigonis	Pandionis	
280/9	Gorgias		Demetrias	Leontis	
279/8	Anaxikrates		Erechtheis	Akamantis	
278/7	Demokles		Aigeis	Oineis	
277/6	— laios?		Pandionis	Kekropis	
276/5	Eubulos		Leontis	Hippothontis	
275/4	Polyeuktos	Kephale	Akamantis	Aiantis	Ξενοκρίτος ['Α]φιδ(ναῖος)
274/3	Hieron	Oe	Oineis	Antiochis	[...σ]ίδης 'Αλωπ(εκῆθεν)

Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribe of Secretary	Tribe of Priest	Priest of Asklepios
273/2			Kekropis	Antigonis	[Τε]μοκλή(ς) Ε[ιτρεαῖος] ?
272/1			Hippothontis	Demetrias	Λυσανία[ς] Με[λι]τι(τεύς)
271/0	Pytharatos		Aiantis	Erechtheis	Σμίκυθος Ἀναγ(υράσιος)
270/9			Antiochis	Aigeis	Νικόμαχος? ?
269/8			Antigonis	Pandionis	Λυκ[ομήδ]ης Κ[ο]νήθυ- (λήθεν)
268/7	Philokrates	Melite	Demetrias	Leontis	. . . Σουρι(εύς)
267/6			Erechtheis	Akamantis	Ἀμειν—? ?
266/5	Peithidemos		Aigeis	Oineis	Ἀρχικλῆς Λακιάδ(ης)
265/4			Pandionis	Kekropis	Λυσικ[λ]ῆς Συναλήτ- (τιος)
264/3	Diognetos		Leontis	Hippothontis	[Προ]κλῆς Πειρ[αι(εύς)]
263/2			Akamantis	Aiantis	Λυκίας Ραμνο(ύσιος)
262/1	Antipatros		{ Oineis { Oineis	{ Antiochis { Antiochis	{ Φιλίας Ειτρεαῖ(ος) { Καλλιτιάδης Αίγιλ(εύς)
Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribe of Secretary and of Priest		Priest of Asklepios
261/0	Arrheneides		Antigonis		Θέξενος Περγασ(ῆθεν)
260/9			Demetrias		Θεόδωρο(ς) Μελιτ(εύς)
259/8			Erechtheis		[. . . ος] Εύωνυ(μύς)
258/7			Aigeis		[Φίλι]ππος Ἰωνί(δης)
257/6			Pandionis		Αὐτοκλῆς Ὀαθε(ν)
256/5	Kleomachos	Kettos	Leontis		Φιλοκράτης Ἐκαλή(θεν)
255/4			Akamantis		Πραξιτέλης [Τε]μάρχου Εἰρεσίδης
254/3			Oineis		Κτησιωνίδης
253/2			Kekropis		Βοῖσκος Φλυ(εύς)
252/1	Diogeiton		Hippothontis		
251/0	Olbios		Aiantis		
250/9		Eitea	Antiochis		
249/8			Antigonis		
248/7			Demetrias		— — Ξυπε[τ]α[ι]ών
247/6	Lysiades		Erechtheis		
246/5	Kallimedes	Plotheia	Aigeis		
245/4	Glaukippos	Myrrhinus	Pandionis		
244/3	Thersilochos	Phrearrhoi	Leontis		
243/2			Akamantis		
242/1			Oineis		
241/0			Kekropis		
240/9			Hippothontis		
239/8	Charikles	Rhamnus	Aiantis		
238/7	Lysias		Antiochis		
237/6	Kimon II		Antigonis		
236/5	Ekphantos	Hippotomadaei	Demetrias		
235/4	Lysanias		Erechtheis		
234/3			Aigeis		
233/2			Pandionis		
232/1	Diomedon		Leontis		
231/0	Jason		Akamantis		

Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribe of Secretary	Priest of Asklepios
230/9		Epikēphisia?	Oineis	
229/8	Heliodoros	Athmonon	Kekropis	
228/7	Leochares		Hippothontis	
227/6	Theophilos		Aiantis	
226/5	Ergochares	Alopeke	Antiochis	
225/4	Niketes		Antigonis	
224/3	Antiphilos		Demetrias	
223/2	Kalli —		Erechtheis	
222/1	Menekrates		Aigeis	
221/0	Thrasyphon	Paiania	Pandionis	
220/9			Leontis	
219/8			Ptolemais	
218/7		Kephale?	Akamantis	
217/6	Chairephon		Oineis	
216/5	Pasiades?		Kekropis	
215/4	Diokles	Keiriadai	Hippothontis	Εὐστρατος Οὐραῖος*
214/3	Euphiletos		Aiantis	
213/2	Herakleitos		Antiochis	
212/1	Archelaos	Kydathenaion	Antigonis	
211/0	Aischron		Demetrias	
210/9		Lamptraí	Erechtheis	
209/8	Philostratos		Aigeis	
208/7	Antimachos	Myrrhinus	Pandionis	
207/6	Phanostratos		Leontis	
206/5	Kallistratos?		Ptolemais	
205/4			Akamantis	
204/3			Oineis	
203/2			Kekropis	
202/1	Phanarchides?		Hippothontis	
201/0			Ptolemais	
200/9			Akamantis	
199/8			Oineis	
198/7			Kekropis	
197/6			Hippothontis	
196/5			Aiantis	
195/4			Antiochis	
194/3			Attalis	
193/2			Erechtheis	
192/1			Aigeis	
191/0			Pandionis	
190/9			Leontis	
189/8			Ptolemais	
188/7	Symmachos	Thorikos	Akamantis	
187/6	Theoxenos		Oineis	
186/5	Zopyros	Aixone	Kekropis	
185/4	Eupolemos	Hamaxanteia	Hippothontis	
184/3			Aiantis	

Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribe of Secretary	Priest of Asklepios
183/2	Hermogenes		Antiochis	
182/1	Timesianax	Probalinthos	Attalis	
181/0			Erechtheis	
180/9			Aigeis	
179/8			Pandionis	
178/7	Philon		Leontis	
177/6			Ptolemais	
176/5	Hippakos		Akamantis	
175/4	Sonikos	Perithoidai	Oineis	
174/3			Kekropis	
173/2			Hippothontis	
172/1	Tychandros	Marathon	Aiantis	
171/0	De —		Antiochis	
170/9			Attalis	
169/8	Eunikos	Kephisia	Erechtheis	
168/7	Xenokles	Teithras	Aigeis	
167/6			Pandionis	
166/5	Nikosthenes†		Leontis	
165/4	Pelops	Hekale	Ptolemais	Πρωταγώρας Νικήτου
164/3	Euerg — !		Akamantis	Περγασήθεν*
163/2	Erastos		Oineis	
162/1	Poseidonios		Kekropis	
161/0	Aristolas	Eleusis	Hippothontis	
160/9			Aiantis	
159/8	Aristaichmos		Antiochis	
158/7	Anthesierios		Attalis	
157/6	Kallistratos		Erechtheis	
156/5	Mnesitheos		Aigeis	
155/4			Pandionis	
154/3	Zaleukos?		Leontis	
153/2	Phaidrias		Ptolemais	
152/1	Lysiades		Akamantis	
151/0	Archon		Oineis	
150/9	Epikrates	Sypalettos	Kekropis	
149/8	Theaitetos		Hippothontis	
148/7	Aristophon		Aiantis	
147/6			Antiochis	
146/5			Attalis	
145/4			Erechtheis	
144/3	Meton		Aigeis	
143/2			Pandionis	
142/1			Leontis	
141/0	Dionysios		Ptolemais	
140/9	Hagnotheos	Thorikos	Akamantis	
139/8			Oineis	
138/7	Timarchos		Kekropis	[Ζωίλος] Νικοκ[ράτου] Φλυεύς*

Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribes of Secretary and Priest of Serapis	Deme of Priest of Serapis	Priest of Asklepios
137/6	Herakleitos	Anakaia	Hippothontis	Eleusis	
136/5			Aiantis	Trikorynthos	
135/4	Nikomachos		Antiochis	Anaphlystos	
134/3			Attalis	Sunion	
133/2	Metrophanes	Lamptrai	Erechtheis	Lamptrai	
132/1	Ergokles		Aigeis	Philaïdai	
131/0	Epikles		Pandionis	Paiania	
130/9	Demostratos		Leontis	Leukonoe	
129/8	Lykiskos		Ptolemais	Phlya	
128/7	Dionysios		Akamantis	Kerameikos	
127/6	Theodorides		Oineis	Archarnai	
126/5	Diotimos		Kekropis	Melite	Θεόδωρος Ἐσ[τ]αίδης*
125/4	Jason	Eleusis	Hippothontis		
124/3	Nikias and Isigenes		Aiantis	Marathon	
123/2	Demetrios		Antiochis	Alopeke	
122/1	Nikodemos	Oinoe	Attalis	Tyrmeidai	
121/0	Xenon		Erechtheis	Pergase	
120/9	Eumachos		Aigeis	{ Myrrhinutta Otryne	
119/8	Hipparchos		Pandionis	Paiania	
118/7	Lenaïos	Skambonidai	Leontis	Kolone	
117/6	Menoites		Ptolemais	Phlya	
116/5	Sarapion	Iphistiadai	Akamantis	{ Thorikos Sphetos	
115/4	Nausias		Oineis	Acharnai	
114/3			Kekropis	Melite	
113/2	Paramonos		Hippothontis	{ Peiraieus Eroiadai	
112/1	Dionysios	Rhamnus	Aiantis	Rhamnus	
111/0	Sosikrates		Antiochis	Anaphlystos	
110/9	Polykleitos		Attalis	Oinoe	
109/8	Jason	Lamptrai	Erechtheis	Kephisia	
108/7	Herakleides		Aigeis	Ionidai	
107/6	Aristarchos	Paiania	Pandionis	Kydathenaion?	
106/5	Agathokles	Aithalidai	Leontis	Kropidai?	
105/4			Ptolemais		
104/3			Akamantis		
Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary		Deme of Priest of Serapis	Priest of Asklepios
103/2					
102/1	Theokles				
101/0	Echekrates				
100/9	Medeios	Eleusis*		Acharnai*	
99/8	Theodosios				
98/7	Prokles	Kothokidai*			
97/6	Argeios				

Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Deme of Priest of Serapis	Priest of Asklepios
96/5	Argeios			
95/4	Herakleitos		Eitea*	
94/3	Demochares	Ankyle*		
93/2				
92/1	Diokles?			
91/0	Medeios			
90/9	Medeios			
89/8	Medeios			
88/7	Ἀναρχία			

Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribe of Priest of Asklepios	Priest of Asklepios
87/6	Philanthes		Erechtheis	
86/5	—ophantes		Aigeis	
85/4			Pandionis	
84/3			Leontis	
83/2			Ptolemais	
82/1			Akamantis	
81/0			Oineis	
80/9			Kekropis	
79/8			Hippothontis	
78/7			Aiantis	
77/6			Antiochis	
76/5			Attalis	
75/4			Erechtheis	
74/3			Aigeis	
73/2			Pandionis	
72/1			Leontis	
71/0			Ptolemais	
70/9			Akamantis	
69/8			Oineis	
68/7			Kekropis	
67/6			Hippothontis	
66/5			Aiantis	
65/4			Antiochis	
64/3			Attalis	
63/2			Erechtheis	Σωκράτης Σαραπῖωνος Κηφισαῖος
62/1	Aristaios		Aigeis	Θεόδωρος Χαριδήμου ἐν Μυρρινούττης
61/0	Theophemos		Pandionis	
60/9	Herodes		Leontis	
59/8	Leukios		Ptolemais	
58/7	Kalliphon		Akamantis	
57/6	Diokles		Oineis	
56/5	Koïntos		Kekropis	
55/4	Aristos		Hippothontis	
54/3	Zenon		Aiantis	

Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribe of Priest of Asklepios	Priest of Asklepios
53/2	Diodoros		Antiochis	
52/1	Lysandros	Halai*	Attalis	
51/0	Lysiades		Erechtheis	Διοκλῆς Διοκλέους Κηφισιεύς
50/9	Demetrios		Aigeis	
49/8	Demochares	Apollonieis*	Pandionis	
48/7	— a — —		Leontis	
47/6			Ptolemais	
46/5			Akamantis	
45/4			Oineis	
44/3			Kekropis	
43/2			Hippothontis	
42/1			Aiantis	
41/0			Antiochis	
40/9			Attalis	

## II.

1. Let us take I G II 836 as our starting point. From it we obtain the names, demes, and sequence of fourteen priests of Asklepios. They need only to be listed for the observation to obtrude itself that they follow one another in the official order of their tribes.<sup>1</sup> One exception alone occurs. Φιλίας Εἰτεαῖος and Καλλιᾶδης Αἰγυλιεύς, the fourth and fifth in the list, belong to the tribe Antiochis.

I G II Add. Nov. 373 b next demands our attention. The priest of Asklepios for the year preceding that of the archon Ly[si]a[de]s was — — Ξυπε]τ[α]ιών, from the tribe Demetrias.

Then we consider I G II 5 178 b, from which it is clear that the priest of Asklepios and the prytany-secretary for 328/7 B.C. both belonged to the tribe Akamantis. In the same way I G II 766, when properly construed, shows that the priests of Asklepios for 341/0 B.C. and 336/5 B.C. were taken, like the secretaries for these years, from Aigeis and Kekropis respectively. Hence we conclude that the tribes of the priests and the tribes of the secretaries normally concurred in each year. The same conclusion is

<sup>1</sup> Kirchner's timely demonstration (*Rhein. Mus.* 59, 1904, pp. 294 ff.) that Pergase was transferred to Antigonis between 307 and 201 B.C. removes the difficulty which Θεόξενος Περγασήθεν—the sixth in the list—would otherwise have presented.

urged upon us by the fact that, when, in the second half of the second century B.C., the priests of *Serapis* and the secretaries both followed the official order, in this case too the same tribe was called upon each year for the two officials.

The dating of the priests of Asklepios of I G II 836 need not now detain us long. The tribe Pandionis is fixed for the secretaryship in 221/0 B.C. by the coincidence of the archon Thrasyphon and the Olympiad 139, 4.<sup>2</sup> Working back and forward from this point, we must construct, as Kirchner saw,<sup>3</sup> the scheme of tribal rotation for the third century. It then appears that there are only two possibilities—one to ascribe the list of fourteen priests to 253/2—241/0, the other to date it in 265/4—253/2 B.C. The choice is not difficult. For by locating the list in 265/4—253/2 it results that the two priests from Antiochis fall in 262/1 B.C. That they belong to the same year may be taken for granted. It is analogous to what we find upon considering the reconstructions made in the board of Amphictyons in 377/6 ff.,<sup>4</sup> and is in accord with the practice repeatedly attested for the election of *suffecti* to the priests of Serapis.<sup>5</sup> Twice—in 319/8<sup>6</sup> and in 296/5<sup>7</sup>—a similar substitution of magistrates took place in the middle of the year. On each occasion the archon-eponymos was reelected. The same was done with one at least of the generals in 296/5, Phaidros of Sphettos being *strategos* twice in Nikias' archonship.<sup>8</sup> We have long since concluded,<sup>9</sup> from evidence which until recently was perhaps inadequate,<sup>10</sup> that in the year which ended the Chremonidean War, Antigonos Gonatas, like the revolutionists in 319/8 and 296/5 B.C., substituted for the old magistrates a new set congenial to himself. Moreover, we have lately learned that this war was ended in 262/1 B.C.; for

<sup>2</sup> DITTENBERGER: *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 256, ll. 12 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1900, pp. 433 ff.

<sup>4</sup> DITTENBERGER: *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 86; cf. *Classical Review*, XV, 1901, pp. 38 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 136.

<sup>6</sup> For Apollodoros δούρεπος see I G II Add. 299 b; cf. II 5 299 c.

<sup>7</sup> For Nikias ὑστρεπος I G II 299; I G II 5 299 c.

<sup>8</sup> I G II 331, l. 21.

<sup>9</sup> DROYSSEN: *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, III, 1<sup>2</sup>, p. 246; BELOCH: *Griech. Gesch.*, III, 2, section 172.

<sup>10</sup> Hegesandros in Athenaeus, IV, 167 f.; cf. below, p. 154.



Athens surrendered in Antipatros' archonship; Antipatros was the immediate predecessor of Arrheneides, and Arrheneides followed Klearchos (301/0) by an interval of 39 years and three months. By *exclusive* reckoning Arrheneides thus falls into 261/0.<sup>11</sup>

For these reasons we must date the list of fourteen priests in 265/4—253/2 B.C.

The dating of I G II Add. 373 b is not so easy. The limits are 253/2 and 230/29, and, since the priest is from Kekropis, it is possible for Lysiades to occupy either 247/6 or 235/4. His rival for either of these positions is Lysanias, the successor of Ekphantos. One is tempted to regard these two archons as the same, since I G II Add. Nov. 373 b gives us only Ly[si]a[de]s—a very easy misreading for Ly[sa]n[ia]s. But the temptation to identify them must be resisted; for the secretaries are different, one being 'Αριστόμαχος 'Αριστο —, the other Εὔμηλος 'Εμπεδίωνος Εὐωνυμεύς. Hence a place must be found for both Lysiades and Lysanias. The decision comes from considering the predecessor of Lysanias. His name occupies eight spaces<sup>12</sup>—precisely the number required for the archon of 236/5 B.C. Lysiades therefore belongs to 247/6 and the priest from Xypete to 248/7. Since Θεόδωρος Μελιτεὺς would occupy this year, if the list of fourteen were assigned to 253/2 ff., its location in 265/4 ff. is thus made doubly sure.

Now we can proceed farther. But first let us remark that the official order of the priests was not broken by the Chremonidean War, and that by a curious coincidence a priest from Antigonis—the tribe established by the Athenians in honor of Antigonos Gonatas' grandfather and namesake—was due for 261/0. Our next stopping place is I G II Add. Nov. 567 b. This precious stone yields us a priest of Asklepios from the tribe Hippothontis, and the archon Isaios. The official order of the priests of Asklepios locates this priest, Φυλεὺς Χαίριου [Ἐλευσ]ίνιος,<sup>13</sup> in 288/7, and thus settles a much debated problem in favor of the

<sup>11</sup> See below, pp. 153 ff.

<sup>12</sup> KOLBE: *Festschrift f. Otto Hirschfeld*, p. 317, has settled this point. [An additional reason for dating the archon in question, Ekphantos, in 236/5 is given in *Klio*, VII, pp. 213 ff.]

<sup>13</sup> The restoration is undoubtedly right. The decree is one of the tribe Hippothontis.

view originally proposed by me and rashly (so they said) accepted by Kirchner.<sup>14</sup> The usefulness of the official order of the secretaries' tribes as a canon in dating the archons of the first third of the third century B.C. depended upon the maintenance of the archon Isaïos in 288/7 B.C. And since 288/7 is demanded for Isaïos by the official order of the priests' tribes, when we work backward from 262/1 and by the official order of the secretaries' tribes, when we work forward from 303/2—293/2, there is no longer any room for discussion as to the location of this archon, and very little for difference of opinion upon the archon-list between 293/2 and 271/0 B.C.

Finally we observe that upon the reestablishment of democratic government in 307/6 B.C. the tribe from which the priest of Asklepios was chosen was Erechtheis—the first in the official order prior to the creation in that year of Antigonis and Demetrias.<sup>15</sup>

2. Let us leave the priests of Asklepios at this point and turn to the prytany-secretaries. Here too the official order, which had continued without an interruption from 353/2 B.C., was thrown aside with the establishment of the aristocratic government in 322/1, but, unlike that of the priests, was not reestablished till three years after 307/6, in 304/3. In the summer of this year Demetrius Poliorcetes, at the command of his father, Antigonos, abandoned the siege of Rhodes in order a second time to rescue Athens from Kassander, and it was doubtless to commemorate his victorious entry into the city that his father's tribe, Antigonis—the first in the official order—was given the privilege of possessing the secretaryship for the year then commencing. In the year 303/2, however, his own tribe, Demetrias, was passed by and the secretaryship was given to Erechtheis. The reason for this is not hard to find. It was seemingly in the early part of the year 303, while Poliorcetes was absent in the Peloponnesus,<sup>16</sup> that the Stra-

<sup>14</sup> *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1900, pp. 436 ff.; *Prosopographia Attica*, II, p. 636.

<sup>15</sup> The election of the priest took place some nine weeks prior to the beginning of the official year (I G II Add. 489b)—as did that of the archon and the other ordinary magistrates (II 416). Antigonis and Demetrias began to exist presumably on the first day of the official year. Cf. BATES: *Cornell Studies*, VIII, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Beitr. alt. Gesch.*, V, p. 174, n. 3.

tokles-Demetrius government was overthrown at Athens, on the issue of subservience to the Macedonian prince, and Demochares and the democratic opponents of Demetrius took affairs into their own hands.<sup>17</sup> To be sure, the deposed government was soon reinstated and Demochares was forced into exile, but the elections and the beginning of the official year, we may assume, came in the interval and Stratokles did not think it worth while to take the secretaryship from the person whom the lot had designated to hold it.

A dislocation of the two systems thus occurred. And I take this opportunity to remark that there was probably a small group of annual single officers lined up with both the priests and the secretaries. The dislocation was such that when Antigonos Gonatas came to reconstruct the state in 262/1 Oineis had the secretaryship and Antiochis the priesthood. The displacement was no doubt awkward and senseless. It was not perpetuated, and in 261/0 we find Antigonis, the first in the official order, and at the same time the tribe of which the conqueror was, as it were, the living eponymos, in possession of both the offices.

Thus is explained the first break in the official order of the secretaries' tribes—a break which has been used by many scholars to reject all archon-lists constructed with it as the guiding principle. The second break concerns us next; for between the last years of the third century and 188/7 B.C. a breach occurred by which some seven tribes were omitted. This I believe can now be explained also. The disturbing event in this interval is, as has all along been affirmed, the abrogation of the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias and the introduction of a new tribe, Attalis. We have abundance of literary evidence that Attalis was established in 200 B.C. Moreover, V. von Schoeffer has recently shown us that, between the disappearance of Antigonis and Demetrias and the creation of Attalis, a short period intervened during which there were but eleven tribes in Athens.<sup>18</sup> Antigonis and Demetrias

<sup>17</sup> PLUTARCH: *Demetrius*, XXIV. In this way the omission of Demetrias can be explained, whether the official order began, for some unknown reason, with Aiantis in 306/5, or, as assumed above, with Antigonis in 304/3. Demochares was doubtless opposed to the creation of the two new tribes and in 303/2 they had not yet become securely established.

<sup>18</sup> See PAULY-WISSOWA: V, 1, p. 32 and pp. 38 ff. [Cf. also Tod (*Annual of British School at Athens*, 1902-3, pp. 173 ff.), who has reached the same conclusion independently of v. Schoeffer.]

were therefore abolished in 201—in all likelihood. The important occurrences in Athenian history during this year were the Acarnanian-Macedonian raid into Attica, the outbreak of hostilities between Athens and Philip, and, what has been insufficiently emphasized in this connection, the assurances of aid given to Athens by Ptolemy of Egypt—with whose court the city had been on the most friendly terms for over twenty years.<sup>19</sup>

The official order of the secretaries' tribes is amply demonstrated for the greater part of the second century. We work back, according to Kirchner's method, from the fixed points to the uncertain period at its start. The system is attached to the Roman consul-lists or the Olympiads in 110/9, 112/1, 125/4, 140/39, 168/7, and, when continued to 201/0, the interesting fact is revealed that in this year the tribe in the secretaryship was Ptolemais. Everything is now clear. The outbreak of indignation which caused the Athenians to throw aside Antigonis and Demetrias<sup>20</sup> took place in 201. The machinery for tribal distribution of offices was thereby thrown out of working, and in starting anew in 201/0<sup>21</sup> the Athenians acted as they did in 261/0 and gave the honor of leading off the tribal procession to Ptolemais, of which too the living eponymos was the ruling king of Egypt, the benefactor from whom at that moment the Athenians confidently expected aid against Macedon. For less than a year there were eleven tribes in Athens. Then came the visit of Attalos in

<sup>19</sup> LIVY: XXXI, 9, 1; cf. NIESE: *Gesch. d. griech. u. maked. Staaten*, II, p. 580 and pp. 589 f. [Niese doubtless dates the collapse of Egyptian power at the battle of Paneion two years too early. It came in 198 B.C.]

<sup>20</sup> LIVY (XXXI, 44; cf. DION CHRYS: XXXVII, 41) relates how in the year 200, after the creation of Attalis (XXXI, 15; cf. POLYBIUS: XVI, 25) the Athenians cut from the stones all memorials of the Macedonian rulers and otherwise indulged their indignation against Philip. Either this occurrence is misplaced by Livy, or the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias were not among the Macedonian institutions at that time cast aside. It is quite possible that upon the first violation of Athens' neutrality by the Macedonians and Acarnanians (LIVY: XXXI, 14) the Athenians discarded these two tribes. Polybius says nothing of their abrogation where he describes in detail the circumstances under which Attalis was created. Besides, I G II 991 shows that Antigonis and Demetrias were non-existent for some time before the creation of Attalis.

<sup>21</sup> Of course the disbanding of Antigonis and Demetrias may have taken place in the course of the year 201/0. In that case the secretary and other single annual officials for the latter part of 201/0 only were taken from the tribe Ptolemais.

200, and the creation of the new tribe Attalis. The official order, which thus started afresh in 201/0, continued without interruption till the constitutional changes of 103/2 B.C.<sup>22</sup> It was then abandoned, apparently forever.

3. We must now revert to our priests of Asklepios. There are many of them belonging to the period from the fourth century B.C. to the second century A.D. to whom no year can be assigned with any certainty. It will be sufficient to append a list of these.<sup>23</sup> The priests who are dated exactly between 229 and 88 B.C. are four in number. They fall in 215/4, 165/4, 138/7, and 126/5 B.C., and came from the demes Oinoe, Pergase, Phlya, and Hestiaia. These demes belonged at this time to Ptolemais, Erechtheis, Ptolemais, and Aigeis respectively. Since the maintenance of the official order for the priests concurrent with that for the secretaries demands for these years priests from Hippothontis, Ptolemais, Kekropis, and Kekropis, it is clear that the two systems were not kept together at this time. Nor do the intervals between the priests allow us to insert these officials either as a whole or in pairs upon any orderly scheme of tribal sequences. In other words, the official order was disregarded in the selection of the priests of Asklepios during the time when it was maintained most rigidly for the prytany-secretaries, and for this reason our loss, for chronological purposes, is not a very great one.

Proceeding down into the first century B.C., we have evidence from the years 63/2, 62/1, and 51/0 that the priests of Asklepios were again succeeding one another in the official order of their tribes. There can be no doubt as to these dates, or as to the maintenance of the sequence at this time; for the arrangement of the whole group of archons between 62/1 and 47/6 is demonstrated by the combination of I G III 1015 and 1014, and one of the group, Herodes, is fixed in 60/59 by his synchronism with Ol. 180, 1.<sup>24</sup> In order to determine the point at which the regular

<sup>22</sup> *Beitr. alt. Gesch.*, IV, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>23</sup> See below, pp. 172 ff.

<sup>24</sup> DIODORUS I, 4, says: *τούτου δ' (Julius Caesar) αἱ πρῶται πράξεις ἐπετελέσθησαν Ὀλυμπιάδος τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἡρώδου*. It is confirmatory that Theophemos, the predecessor of Herodes, is assigned by Kastor (in Eusebius I, p. 183, 8, p. 295, 33 Schoene) to 61/0 B.C.; cf. KIRCHNER: P.A. 7092.

succession was resumed we have again to work backward from 63/2 as a fixed point, and this time we have not far to go. It is obvious that what happened before in 262/1 and 201/0 B.C. happened again at this time. In 88 B.C. the Athenian democrats looking for the coming of Mithradates the Great, overturned the pro-Roman aristocratic government which had existed from 103/2 B.C. on. They put themselves into the hands of two military leaders—so-called tyrants.—and offered a desperate resistance to Sulla in 87/6. When the Roman pro-consul captured the city the aristocrats were restored,<sup>25</sup> the preceding year was marked on the list of the *eponymi* as ἀναρχία, and the offices were reassigned. The priest of Asklepios for 87/6 was taken, as in 307/6 and 261/0, from the first tribe in the official order—Erechtheis. At what time the scheme of sequences, begun in 87/6, ceased to exist, I cannot at present determine.<sup>26</sup>

### III.

We must now return and take up a number of points in detail.

1. The list of secretaries to the treasury-board of Athena is given to bring out the fact that their official order does not concur with that of the prytany-secretaries and priests. At what times the three sets began cannot be determined.

2. Πάταικος (P.A. 11677) was priest shortly before 343/2 (archon Pythodotos). The name being rare, it is perhaps admissible to identify him with Πάταικος Ἐλευσίνιος I G II 834 b, col. I, 50 (329/8, P.A. 11679).

Λυσίθεος Τρικυρύσιος (P.A. 9407) appears in I G II 767 l. 19, and 1459. He must have been priest in 334/3, if this fragment—a list of donations to Asklepios—followed I G II 766; but that is impossible, for the list for 334/3 is extant in 766 itself, and 767 certainly formed no part of 766. Hence 767 must precede 766, in which case it should probably be joined with Add. Nov. 766 b. Lysitheos is therefore assigned to 344/3 B.C.

<sup>25</sup> *Beitr. alt. Gesch.*, IV, p. 17.

<sup>26</sup> A hurried survey of the data for the first two centuries A.D. revealed nothing conclusive on this point.

[For Θουγένης, see Sundwall, *Klio: Beiheft IV* p. 75 and Kirchner, *Rhein. Mus. LXI* p. 349.]

Εὐνικίδης Ἀλαιοῦς appears in the Asklepios-list for 341/0 in the following connection: Μυννίου Γ· ταύτας ἔφη ὁ ἱερεὺς (ὅς) Εὐνικίδης Ἀλαιοῦς παλαιὰς εἶναι I G II 766 ll. 7 f.; cf. l. 3: Μνησαρέτη Δ, ἐλλείπει |—|—, ταύτας δεῖ[ν] ἔφη ἀποδοῦναι Διοκλέα Μυρρι(νούσιον). Such an affirmation could have been made by no one except the priest in charge for the year.

Πολύξενος, priest in 339/8, seems to be missing in the *Prosopographia*.<sup>27</sup> He is possibly to be identified with Πολύξενος Πολυκρά(τους) Σουμειῦς I G II 864 (P.A. 12066).

For Τεισίας, priest in 338/7 cf. Τεισίας Κεφαλῆθεν (P.A. 13478).

Τελεσίας Φλυ(εῖς) (P. A. 13520) is mentioned as priest in the list of donations I G II 766 ll. 66 and 67. No priest appears elsewhere in this or the similar lists except the priest of Asklepios. If the donations arrived with about the same frequency in 338/7 (ll. 29 ff.) and 337/6 as in 340/39 and 339/8 (ll. 8 ff.), we should expect the priest for 336/5 to appear anywhere in the neighborhood of l. 66.

3. Φιλοχάρης Ὁαθεν and Ὀνήτωρ Μελετιῦς are mentioned in the catalogue of donations published in I G II 835. This list follows that of which part—for the years 341/0—336/5 ff.—is extant in I G II 766. Since lines 8 ff. of 766 belong to 340/39, and lines 66 and 67 deal with dedications in 336/5, it is clear that line 119, with which the catalogue ended, reached to about 332/0. We can therefore place the beginning of II 835 at about that time. Consequently the seventeen priests mentioned in it belong in the main after 330 B.C. Hence I G II 835 cannot have been published before 313/2 B.C. It undoubtedly was set up much later. [The dating of Onetor and Philochares and of the other fifteen priests in this group has been carefully investigated by Kirchner in an article entitled *Beiträge zur attischen Epigraphik*.<sup>28</sup> The conclusion reached is that the two named above held office in 321/0 and 320/19; Philippos (I G, II 835, l. 78) in 319/8, and the other fourteen as indicated in the table given above on pp. 131 f.]

<sup>27</sup> Similarly Ἐπικράτης (I G II 835 l. 61) and Πυθόγκος (*ibid.* l. 50) have been omitted.

<sup>28</sup> *Rhein. Mus. LXI* (1906), pp. 344 ff.

Beyond the fully extant beginning (265/4) of I G II 836 (which is written on the back of the stone on which I G II 835 is inscribed) lie the years of ten priests, who as ex-officials made donations to Asklepios in 266/5 and 263/2. Seven of them appear together at the end of the catalogue for 263/2. At this point the commissioners placed in the inventory a lot of miscellaneous items—the weight of gold on hand, the ἀργυρώματα οἷς οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐχρῶντο etc. Perhaps an assortment of cult-furniture which had been contributed by the priests themselves was put out of service at this time, a censer, a ladel, several ἡδυνότια, a bowl, etc. Or it may be that the commissioners chose this point to list the articles of the permanent outfit which were donated by priests who held office prior to the year in which Athens fell; for all but three items in this part of the inventory concern objects donated by priests, while of the others one was apparently the property of Asklepios himself, and a second came as a gift from the δῆμος of Athens.

It is not important to decide whether this nest of dedications is the result of something done in 262/1 or of the cataloguing in 232/1. In any case its insertion just before the first year of the Macedonian regime checks in a decisive way our chronology of the whole period.

The first dedication by the δῆμος was listed in 263/2: the next was made in 256/5, and this seems to have established a precedent; for in the two following years (for which alone a complete catalogue is extant) the state likewise made a gift to the shrine. Was the precedent set in the year in which Athens regained her freedom? That is given by Eusebius as 256/5, not, as is usually affirmed,<sup>20</sup> as 255/4.

Macedonian money appears among the dedications for the first time in what we have determined to be 261/0. Thus during the priestship of Theoxenos of Pergase (l. 45) a [τέτραχμον Ἀντι] γόνειον was given as an offering by Euagion. In 256/5 four

<sup>20</sup> BELOCH, Griech. Gesch. III 2, p. 436. [Hieronymus and Syncellus (524, 12) assign it to Ol. 131, 1 = 256/5. This is the year of Abraham 1761. The Armenian version puts it in the year of Abraham 1761, which is equated, however, with Ol. 131, 2 = 255/4. Still Zohrab's reading of the *versio Armenia* puts it in the year of Abraham 1760 = Ol. 131, 1 = 256/5. Schöne, *Eusebius*, II, pp. 120 f.; cf. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*, p. 376, n. 1.]



τέτραχμα Ἀντιγόχεια were dedicated (l. 80), in 255/4 three (l. 86), and some more in 254/3 (l. 93).

After a period during which Athens had lost her right of coinage the mint was reopened in 229, and the *new style* of Attic coins began. Head determines the period of suspension to be from 322 to 229.<sup>30</sup> That is assuredly wrong. It is impossible to believe that between 307 and 262/1 Athens coined no money in her own name. The first appearance of Ἀντιγόχεια τέτραχμα in 261/0 tells clearly enough when it was that the *old style* of Attic coins was abandoned. Head,<sup>31</sup> following J. P. Six,<sup>32</sup> attributes the τέτραχμα Ἀντιγόχεια of our catalogue to Antigonos, the father of Demetrius Poliorcetes. This view is based on a false dating of I G II 836. The coins belong, as is now clear, to Antigonos Gonatas, and can probably be identified by the numismatists. In any case we have again a decisive check upon our chronology in the fact that these τέτραχμα Ἀντιγόχεια make their first appearance in the priestship which we have dated in the year after the fall of Athens.

Before assigning to precise years the ten priests who made dedications as ex-officials, it will be well to look to the limits of the inscription in which they occur. Its beginning is extant in a fragmentary condition, and, judging from the normal number of lines required for a year, it appears that at least five annual catalogues preceded that from 265/4. How many more there were depends upon the extent of the *lacuna* between fragments *ab* and *d*. Since, as will be seen in a moment, the earliest year required by the tribes of the ten priests involved is 275/4, it is conceivable that the list began at about that time. It ended in 232/1 B.C. Hence about 45 years were included. Since it is to be supposed that the inscription on the front of the stone was equally long, it is probable that the two sides contained a continuous narrative, and together listed the dedications from about 330 to

<sup>30</sup> *Historia Nummorum* p. 316.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 201.

<sup>32</sup> *Annuaire de Numismatique* 1882, p. 27. I have not had access to this serial or to any other of the numismatic journals. [I notice that Koehler in the *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Akad.* for 1896, pp. 1089 ff., has already taken issue with Head on most of these points.]

232/1 B.C., the juncture being at about 276/5 B.C. And this proves to be not an approximate but the exact date; for I G II 835 was set up in the archonship of E[ϰ]— and the secretaryship of Κλειγ[ένης]. Between 332/1 and 274/3 officials whose names begin in this way are possible only twice. In 277/6 or 284/3 —laios? was archon. His secretary is unknown. Hence there is nothing to exclude his year. But there is nothing to commend it either. Whereas 276/5, the year which preceded that of the earliest priest in I G II 836, and the year of a most important change of government in Athens,<sup>33</sup> has for archon Eubulos. His secretary has not been known hitherto. We may therefore safely conclude that I G II 835 was inscribed in 276/5. That being the case, we have found a reason for its peculiar arrangement; for this catalogue differs from the rest in that the donations are grouped, not under the names of the priests in whose years they were made, but according to their location in the shrine. This was natural, if the articles were listed in 276/5 B.C. The many changes of government and the abandonment of the official order during the preceding fifty years made it at that time impossible to arrange the dedications chronologically.

Since it is certain that the ex-priests belong to the period immediately preceding 265/4 B.C., I have assigned them to the years into which their demes distribute them. In the process two restorations have been made, one rash, the other probable. [Τι]μοκλή(ς) 'Ε— belongs to 273/2, 272/1, 270/69, or 267/6, and in the tribes which are involved by these years only four demes begin with 'Ε, viz.: Erchia and Erikeia (Aigeis 270/69), Eiresidai (Akamantis 267/6), and Eitea (Antigonis 273/2). Because of Τιμοκλής Εἰτεαῖος (P. A. 13733) the last possibility has been preferred.

The case of Λυσανία[ς—]λι leaves less for guesswork. [It has been restored with Με]λι(τεύς) by Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 78, and defended by Kirchner (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1906, pp. 985 f.)

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Beitr. alt. Gesch.* V pp. 167 f., 170, 173, and below pp. 155 and 166. It will be observed that the change from the financial board *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* to the single officer, which was made in 276/5, was accompanied by the transfer, in part at least, of certain of the duties of the college, e.g., the payment for inscribing documents, to the *ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν*. The earliest mention of the military treasurer in this connection is still I G II 835; cf. LARFELD II 2, p. 722.

against the objections made by me, below p. 169. Lysanias is then assigned to 272/1.]

4. A few remarks may now be made on the archon-list.

It should no longer be doubted that Philippos belongs in 293/2 B.C., and that no name is lacking in the list given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus: for between Philippos and Diokles (290/89) place must be found for Kimon and Charinos. The reference in the letters of Epicurus—ἐπὶ δὲ Χαρί[νου καὶ ἐπὶ] Διοτίμ[ου]—makes it practically impossible, as Kolbe rightly remarked,<sup>34</sup> to locate Charinos after Diokles.

Kimon I will have to be assigned to 292/1 rather than to the following year (or to the preceding) because of the connection between the policy of Phaidros in this archonship and the situation inevitably arising out of the revolt in Boeotia in 292/1 B.C.<sup>34a</sup> Phaidros was doubtless moderate in his politics. He held the generalship between 301 and 296/5, and in 296/5 under both the aristocracy and Lachares. He continued to serve under the democracy of 295/4-276/5, and was publicly commended in 275/4 after the moderates again assumed control.

Moderate counsels were much needed in Athens in the year which followed that of Philippos, for the extreme oligarchs were then back from exile<sup>35</sup> and many reasons urged the city to join in the unfortunate Boeotian rebellion (292/1). That Athens maintained peace, freedom, and a liberal government was, it seems, due to the influence of Phaidros in Kimon's year (292/1). The passage from which we learn this is worth quoting in full. Χειροτονηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα στρατηγὸς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Κίμωνος ἄρχοντος διετέλεσεν ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ περιστάντων τεῖ πόλει καιρῶν δυσκόλων διεφύλαξεν τὴν εἰρήνην τῇ χώρῃ, ἀποφαινόμενος ἅει τὰ κράτιστα, καὶ τὸν σίτον ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καρποὺς αἴτιος ἐγένετο εἰσκομισθῆναι, συμβουλευσας τῷ δήμῳ συντελέσαι (erasure of c. 38

<sup>34</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XXX, p. 103. [See, however, my article on the *Death of Menander* in *Classical Philology* II, where it is shown that Charinos, Philippos, and Kimon succeeded one another in 293/2, 292/1, and 291/0.]

<sup>34a</sup> KOLBE: *loc. cit.*, pp. 103, 108; BELOCH: *Griech. Gesch.* III, 1, p. 234, n. 1.

<sup>35</sup> DION. HAL.: *De Dinarcho* IX = p. 651; cf. *Beitr. alt. Gesch.* V, p. 161.

letters in which there was some reference to Demetrius) καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ δημοκρατουμένην αὐτόνομον παρέδωκεν καὶ τοὺς νόμους κυρίους τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν (erasure of c. 71 letters).<sup>35a</sup>

That is to say, in spite of the crisis peace was maintained, but contributions of money were necessary to gather in the harvest. The penalty for indiscretion would have been the destruction of the legal safeguards of life and property, and a rabid oligarchy upheld by the drawn sword of Macedon.

If I G II 310 is a correct reproduction of the stone, it seems impossible to restore the archon-name found in line 24 except as Ὀλυμπιοδώρου. In that case the decree which occupies the earlier part of the stone precedes 301 B.C.; for the ταμίας was instructed to pay the cost. This can be either the ταμίας τοῦ δήμου or the ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν. The ταμίας τ. δ. was abolished in 301: the ταμίας τ. σ. was first entrusted<sup>36</sup> with the payment for the inscribing of documents on the change of government in 276/5. Αἰσχρων Προξένου, to whom the decree in question renders praise, was given Athenian citizenship in 290/89 or the following year. Hence it is much the most likely thing that the ταμίας τ. δ. is meant. I G II 310 was passed εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης. The end of the "four years' war" is probably referred to. Αἰσχρων, the leader perhaps of a pro-Athenian party in Delphi, was accordingly lauded by Stratokles and his friends in c. 303/2 and by the same government upon its restoration in 294/3 (Olympiodoros). For befriending Athenians in Delphi, probably at the time the Aetolians seized the shrine,<sup>37</sup> he was finally given the citizenship in 290/89. Aischron was in all likelihood the most prominent man among the out and out democrats in Delphi.

We shall have to reconcile ourselves after all to dating the return of Demochares from exile, the revolt of Athens from Demetrius Poliorcetes, and the storming of the Museion in 289

<sup>35a</sup> I G II 331.

<sup>36</sup> See above, p. 149, n. 33.

<sup>37</sup> PAULY-WISSOWA: IV, p. 2568; *Jahrb.*, 1897, p. 187. Pomtow concludes that Aischron was not a Delphian because his name is wanting in the Delphian inscriptions. The same argument would convict Lachares of *ξενίας* in Athens. [Kirchner (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1906 p. 985) objects to the restoration Ὀλυμπιοδώρου on the ground of lack of space, and refers to *Hermes* 1902 p. 436 where he has suggested Ἀντιπύρου (262/1 B.C.)]

B.C.,<sup>38</sup> and Plutarch will have to be corrected where he narrates the revolt of Athens after the expulsion of Demetrios from Macedon,<sup>39</sup> the only alternative being that some fallacy exists in our calculation of the limits of Demetrius' reign.<sup>40</sup>

Urios must precede Eubulos; for I G II 331 must have been passed in the year immediately after Eubulos—not a few years later, as Kolbe assumes. Certainly no one who accepts Beloch's very plausible dating of Eubulos in 276/5 should attribute I G II 331 to any year but that of his successor, since it is upon the observation that the year of this document was the second of an Olympiad that Eubulos is assigned to the first.<sup>41</sup> This being so, a single officer *ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* appears in 275/4, whereas in Urios' year the board still existed. Hence Urios belongs to 285/4.<sup>42</sup>

It is likely that both Telokles and —laios? precede Eubulos; for after Eubulos no archon-name, unless it be these, appears in Epicurus' correspondence. That would seem to have ceased with the infirmities of the philosopher's latter days. The only possibil-

<sup>38</sup> The *agonothetes*, Philippides of Kephale, in 288/7, *ἐπὶ* θετον ἀγῶνα κατεσκεύασεν τεὶ Δῆμ[ητρι καὶ τεὶ Κόρε]ι [πρ]ῶτος ὑπόμνημα τῆς τοῦ δήμου [ἐλευθερίας].

<sup>39</sup> See *Beitr. alt. Gesch.* V, pp. 176 ff.

<sup>40</sup> KOLBE'S (*loc. cit.* pp. 91 ff.) criticism of Beloch's conclusion (*Griech. Gesch.* III 2, p. 80) that Demetrius Poliorcetes was expelled from Macedon in 288 B.C. is not fatal. The attack on Demetrius may have been delivered in the early summer of 288. His abdication was probably made on his departure for Asia, in 288/7 or later.

<sup>41</sup> This Kolbe seems to have overlooked.

<sup>42</sup> In I G II 325, which Kolbe in contradiction to Koehler, who after seeing the stone (II 5 325) decided for Arrheneides, locates in Kallimedes' archonship, appears, as between 295/4 and 276/5, the board of officers entitled *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*. In II Add. Nov. 373 b (248/7), II 305 (245/4), *Εφ. Αρχ.* 1905 p. 219 (235/4) and II 334 (232/1) we find on the other hand *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*. Again after 229 B.C. *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* recurs, and before 201/0 *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* succeeds. It is easy to understand that in 229 the democracy reverted to the practice of the earlier democrats of 295/4-276/5 B.C., and then dropped it when the first zeal of the restoration wore away and the advantages of one responsible administrator prevailed over sentiment. But how explain the isolated appearance of the college in the middle of the century? We have Kolbe's assurance that the stone has *τοῦ* [τ], otherwise the easiest way would be to assume a misreading. It is, however, possible that a college was reappointed when the Chremonidean War began, and that it remained in charge till the Athenian pro-Macedonians came to have a free hand in 256. In that case II 325 should be assigned to Arrheneides and the MSS. of Diogenes Laertius (WILAMOWITZ: *Antigonos von Karystos*, p. 341) which yield *τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*, corrected to *τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*. But the whole matter is uncertain. [Kirchner (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1906, p. 987) suggests that the archon name in I G II 325 be restored [*Ἐπὶ Θρασυμ*]ήδο[υ], and that Thrasy-medes be located in one of the years after 221/0 B.C. I notice, by the way, that an exceptional letter of Epicurus was written in the period of his last sickness in 271/0 B.C.]

ities are 284/3 and 277/6, and there is no means of deciding which of these comes to each.

5. Beloch has assigned Antipatros to 263/2 and Arrheneides to 262/1. The determining passages are as follows:<sup>43</sup>

Καὶ Ἀπολλό[δο]ρος δὲ τὸ κα[θη-  
ρ]ῆσθαι [τίθησι τ]ὴν πόλιν [ἐπ' Ἀν-  
τιπ]άτρου τ[οῦ] πρὸ Ἀρρενίδ[ου  
καὶ φρουρὰ [ν εἰς] τὸ Μουσεῖον [τότε  
εἰσῆχθ[αι ὑπ'] Ἀντιγόνου [καὶ τὰς  
ἀρχὰς [ἀνηρῆσθ]αι καὶ πᾶν ἐν [ἰ  
βουλεύ[ειν] ἐφ]εῖσθαι

Καθάπερ ἐν τῇ [ι] πε-  
ριεχούσῃ τὰ περὶ Ἀντιφῶν[τος  
ἐπιστολῇ λέγεται [ι], γίνετα [ι βε-  
βιωκῶς ὁ Ζήνων . . . ἰδε . . . .  
· α τῶν ρ καὶ α ἐτῶν. ἀπὸ  
Κλεάρχου γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρρ]ενε [ι-  
δην, ἐφ' οὗ σημ[ειωθ]ῆναι [τε-  
τελευτηκέναι [ι] Ζήνωνι, ἔτη  
ἐστὶν ἐννέα κα [ι] τριάκοντα  
καὶ μῆνες τρεῖς.

[γεγονέναι Κλε-]  
άνθην ἐπ' ἄρχον[τος]  
Ἀριστοφάνους κα [ι]  
τὴν σχολὴν δια[κατα-]  
σχέειν ἐπ' ἔτη τριάκ[ον] ν-  
τα καὶ [ε] ν.

ἀπηλλάγη [δ' ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἰ-]  
άσονος ἐτ[ῶ]ν τὰ μ[άλιστα ρ].

The sequence of Antipatros and Arrheneides is thus clearly established. Klearchos was archon in 301/0 B.C. Thirty-nine years bring us to the beginning of 261/0. Three months can carry us as well into the year 261/0 as into that of Klearchos. Hence Beloch's<sup>44</sup> calculation is not the only one possible.

<sup>43</sup> For a more exact presentation of Crönert's reading of these papyrus-fragments see BELOCH II 2, pp. 424, 39, 472 f. The text here given does not indicate the varying degrees of certainty of particular letters.

<sup>44</sup> *Griech. Gesch.* III 2, p. 424. [Kolbe's emphatic affirmation that it is (*Deutsche Literaturzeit.* 1907, p. 934) should not lead any one astray.]

The public tomb was decreed to Zeno in the latter part of the fifth month, Maimakterion,<sup>45</sup> at the request of King Antigonos.<sup>46</sup> This being the case, it is probable that his death occurred two months earlier, in the third month of 261/0. Zeno's successor, Kleanthes, was head of the Stoa for upward of thirty-one years. By *inclusive* reckonings this brings us to 231/0 for his death and for the archon Jason. The lack which ἐπὶ calls for is explained by the three months of Arrheneides' year given to Zeno. The calculation is then verified by the equation 331/0 (Aristophanes) minus 231/0 (Jason) = about 100. We need not concern ourselves here with other computations as to the lives and headships of Zeno and Kleanthes, since it is through the one which he himself gives that the years of Philodemus' archons must be arrived at.

Since it was not till 262/1 B.C., and, if the distribution of the dedications to Asklepios is any criterion—3½ lines to Phileas, 4 to Kalliades<sup>47</sup>—in the late fall of 262 at the earliest, that Athens came into the hands of Antigonos, it is apparent that the surrender of the city took place at the time that the young king Antiochos II came to the throne of the Seleucids (between July 262 and July 261),<sup>48</sup> and declared war upon Ptolemy Philadelphus<sup>49</sup>—the champion and chief hope of the Athenians. This new entanglement destroyed the last prospect of Egyptian aid, and the city could do nothing but yield. The marriage of Antigonos' heir to Antiochos' sister, Stratonike, was the consummation of the alliance which cost Athens its independence. The war, in which the siege and fall of Athens formed but an episode, continued for some time after 262, and resulted in the downfall of the sea-power of Philadelphus.<sup>50</sup>

Antigonos, we observe, is said τὰς ἀρχὰς [ἀνηρῆσθ]αι καὶ πᾶν ἐν[ὶ] βουλευ[ειν?] [ἐφ]είσθαι.

<sup>45</sup> DIOGENES LAERTIUS: VII, 10-12.

<sup>46</sup> DIOGENES LAERTIUS: VII, 15; cf. WILAMOWITZ: *Antigonos v. Karystos*, pp. 118, 344.

<sup>47</sup> I G II 836, ll. 36 ff. [Lehmann-Haupt (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1906, pp. 1265 f.) dates the fall of Athens in the spring or summer of 261.]

<sup>48</sup> BEVAN: *The House of Seleucus I*, p. 168.

<sup>49</sup> BELOCH: *Griech. Gesch.* III 1, p. 615.

<sup>50</sup> BELOCH: III 1, p. 618; III 2, pp. 428 ff.

6. The archons between 261/0 and 230/29 form a group by themselves and deserve a special study. Leaving out of account Sosistratos and Philoneos,<sup>51</sup> who belong before 262/1, and Philostratos, Antimachos, and Phanostratos, whom Kolbe<sup>52</sup> has, I believe rightly, assigned to 209/8 ff., there remain for the thirty-one years involved twenty-two archon-names: Kleomachos, Diogeiton, Olbios, Lysiades, Kallimedes, Glaukippos,<sup>53</sup> Thersilochos, Charikles, Lysias, Kimon, Ekphantos, Lysanias, Diomedon, Jason, Alcibiades, Hagnias, Lykeas, Pheidostratos, Philippides, Theophemos, Thymochares, . . . bios? and, as a possible twenty-third, Aristides. Of these the first fourteen are assigned in the table to a definite year. These assignments require a word of justification.

Diomedon has been dated by Kirchner in 232/1, for obvious and adequate reasons. That leaves only 244/3 and 256/5 open to a secretary from Leontis, *i.e.*, to Thersilochos and Kleomachos. Kallimedes precedes Thersilochos by a clear year; hence a decision between 256/5 and 244/3 involves all three archons. It is hard to make. But first it should be remarked that Kolbe's effort<sup>54</sup> to carry Kallimedes and Thersilochos back to 290/89 and 288/7 was most ill-advised. The decrees of these archons contain a formula of allegiance to Macedon which is found only between 276/5 and 230/29 B.C.,<sup>55</sup> and in the second place one of them exhibits the form *γίνομαι*, which does not appear till after 261/0, and then only in unofficial documents.<sup>56</sup> *Γίνομαι* demands as late a year as possible for Thersilochos. The contents of the documents of Thersilochos' year demand that Macedon be on friendly terms with both the Boeotian League and Athens; for each of these accepts arbitrators for a dispute from the Macedonian de-

<sup>51</sup> Philoneos cannot be located in 265/4; for *Λυσικλῆς Συναλήττιος*, priest of Asklepios in 265/4 and *ἀγορευτῆς* in Philoneos' archonship, cannot have held these two offices in the same year.

<sup>52</sup> *Loc. cit.* pp. 76 ff. An additional and conclusive argument may now be added to those given by Kolbe. There is no other place in the third century B.C. for the three archons whether Antimachos was the first or middle one of the three. He doubtless occupied the middle place.

<sup>53</sup> The reason for dating Glaukippos in 245/4 rather than in 257/6 or 233/2 is the similarity of content in II 305 and II 325. The prosopographical data given in *Cornell Studies* X, p. 34, also favor 245/4.

<sup>54</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XXX, 1905, pp. 98 ff.

<sup>55</sup> See LARFELD: II 2 pp. 684 f.

<sup>56</sup> See MEISTERHANS: *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup> pp. 177 f., n. 1478.



pendency, Lamia. The condition thus imposed was not fulfilled between the revolt of Alexander, Krateros' son, in c. 252 and the defeat of Abaeokritos at Chaeronea in 245.<sup>57</sup> There is no unlikelihood that it was met in 256/5: it was admirably fulfilled in 244/3. After the battle of Chaeronea the Boeotian League entered into *sympolity* with Aetolia, and thus came over to the Macedonian camp.<sup>58</sup> It had sympathized with Alexander,<sup>59</sup> and had been in alliance with Achaea up to 245. During this time its relations with Athens were undoubtedly strained, and upon the change of policy in 245 it is natural to find disputes referred to a Macedonian dependency for arbitration.

Between 262 and 256 Athens was very completely under Macedonian tutelage,<sup>60</sup> and it is less natural to find a group of decrees extant from this period than from 246 ff. Hence for these various reasons 246/5 and 244/3 should be assigned to Kallimedes and Thersilochos, and 256/5 to Kleomachos.

In a decree of Kallimedes' year (I G II 306) we read *στρ]α-τος ὁ πατή[ρ . . . .] βασιλέως Δημ[ητρίου . .]* "As far as one may judge, it is here said that the father of the person eulogized in the decree did some services to Athens during the reign of Demetrius Poliorcetes." This interpretation, made in *Cornell Studies* X, p. 31, Kolbe (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXX, 1905, p. 100) regards as *gekünstelt* and a *Verlegenheitsauskunft*. To me it seems most natural as well as correct. Did Kolbe forget such documents as I G II 331, in which the earlier part of the decree enumerates the services rendered to Athens by the (grandfather and) father of the benefactor to whom the body of the psephisma is devoted? About forty years had elapsed in 246/5 since Demetrius had ceased to be a king. That is also natural. The benefactor of 246 could well have been a boy of 10 or 15 in 290 B.C. while his father was still in the prime of life.

7. The appearance in the archonships of Kallimedes and Glaukippos of a cult of Zeus Soter in Athens as well as in the

<sup>57</sup> BELOCH: *Griech. Gesch.* III 1, p. 642.

<sup>58</sup> NIESE: *Gesch. d. griech. u. maked. Staaten* II, p. 250.

<sup>59</sup> BELOCH: III 1, 639; NIESE: II, p. 249; cf. however BELOCH: III 2, p. 438.

<sup>60</sup> SUIDAS: Philochoros. BELOCH: III 2, pp. 435 f.

Peiraieus should be noted;<sup>61</sup> for the finding in Athens of the stones, on which were written I G II 305 (Glaukippos), 325 (Kallimedes, according to Kolbe), 326 (same time as 325), 616 (middle of third century), and 1387 (dateless),<sup>62</sup> demonstrates this point clearly enough. It is significant that all these stones belong to the period 262–229. The same duplication of worship is demonstrable in this period for still another cult—that of Bendis. From an interesting inscription published by Wilhelm in 1902<sup>63</sup> we learn that in Polystratos' archonship (with which Lykeas from an unpublished document must be closely associated)<sup>64</sup> a branch cult of this goddess had recently been established among the Thracians in the city, and that by formal resolution the old organization agreed to assume a friendly attitude toward it—*καὶ νῦν οἱ ἡ[ρη]μένοι ἐν τῷ ἄστει κατασκευάσασθαι ἱερὸν οὔονται δεῖν οἰκείως διακεῖ[σθ]αι πρὸς ἀλλήλους*. Provision is made for co-operation between the two societies in the *πομπή* from Athens to the Peiraieus which formed so characteristic a feature of the Bendis worship. The *ἐπιμεληταί* in the Peiraieus were to provide sponges, basins, and wreaths for the members of both clubs upon the arrival of the procession in the harbor-town.

Furthermore, it is to be observed that between 260/59 and 229 not a single person from either the Peiraieus<sup>65</sup> or Phaleron appears in any capacity whatsoever in the Athenian documents.

One is tempted to believe that the Peiraieus and its environs were taken away from the rest of Athens in 256 and put under the military government of the Athenian *strategos*, "tyrant," Herakleitos, Asklepiades' son, of Athmonon.<sup>66</sup> But on close examination this view is proved untenable; for the Athenian archon was eponymos in the Peiraieus in Polystratos' year, and the Thracians there resident claim certain exclusive rights on the strength

<sup>61</sup> WACHSMUTH: *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* II, p. 145, denies the existence of a separate cult in Athens. MOMMSEN: *Die Feste der Stadt Athen* p. 524, stoutly maintains it. JUDEICH: *Topographie von Athen* p. 302, agrees with Mommsen.

<sup>62</sup> The provenience of I G III 167 (c. 134 A.D.) is disputed.

<sup>63</sup> *Gesterr. Jahreshefte* V, 1 p. 127 ff.

<sup>64</sup> WILHELM: *loc. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>65</sup> The restoration Περ[αιε] in I G II 330 (Kimon II 237/6) is quite uncertain.

<sup>66</sup> Καθεστηκώς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ταπτομένων μετὰ τοῦ Πειραιέως. I G II 5 591 b.

of the Athenian laws.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, in 239/8 (Charikles) the ekklesia met in the Peiraieus,<sup>68</sup> and again in 230/29? (I G II 5 373c) the senate was convened there. The Peiraieus was thus more than an ordinary deme still.

The solution of these various problems is undoubtedly this: that the citizen population in the Peiraieus had diminished very greatly in numbers, and had perhaps accepted another political creed than that dominant in the city. It moreover had lost constant touch with the city through the destruction or delapidation of the long walls. It was still possible for processions to go from the one town to the other, and for the populace or the senate to proceed to the harbor when local business made that expedient. But all this could be done only in time of peace, and there was no longer the unbroken intercourse between the two places which made it possible for men resident in Athens to render daily worship to deities resident only in the Peiraieus.

8. Since the ekklesia met in the Peiraieus in Charikles' year it is clear that in 239/8 the war with Aratos, which in Plutarch's narrative is described for us as a series of disconnected incidents, had not yet begun. A similar state of peace is presupposed for the time<sup>69</sup> of I G II 5 373c, i.e., for Skirophorion of 229—after the withdrawal of the Macedonian garrison, and after a good understanding had been reached with the Achaean League. That Ptolemais did not yet exist is no objection to this date: for it is now certain that this tribe was created in the course of 225/4 or in 224/3 or in 223/2; for while it was not in existence at the beginning of Niketes' archonship, it already received officers under Menekrates. By far the most likely year in this interval is 224, not so much for the reason urged by Kirchner and Zhebelev (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1900, p. 450), that the archon-eponymos for 224/3 was taken from Aphidna, a deme of Ptolemais, but because of the mention of King Ptolemy in connection with the gymnasiarch for 224/3. Unfortunately the document ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897, p. 43) is badly damaged, but the conjecture is obvious that we

<sup>67</sup> *Oesterr. Jahreshefte* V, 1902, pp. 127 ff.

<sup>68</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1901, p. 52.

<sup>69</sup> The possibilities are 254/3, 242/1, and 230/29.

have to do with the donation of the gymnasium named from its founder the Ptolemaion—*die erste grosse Baustiftung aus hellenistischer Zeit*.<sup>70</sup> The establishment of the tribe was Athens' way of rendering thanks for the gift. The interest of Ptolemy in Athens was doubtless due in part at least to the good understanding reached by Antigonos Doson and the Achaean League. The same event forced Athens to secure the good will of Ptolemy.<sup>71</sup>

The formula and usages which prove Kolbe's location of Kalimedes and Thersilochos in 290/89 and 288/7 to be wrong, prove with equal cogency his dating of Lysias and Kimon II to be right. The chief inscription of these years<sup>72</sup> has the notice of sacrifices offered for the Macedonian rulers—King Demetrios II and Queen [Phthia]—and also the late form *γίνομαι*. Now that there is absolutely no room for Lysias before Kimon I in 292/1, it is certain that this pair belongs in 238/7 and 237/6. As already pointed out, their immediate successors were Ekphantos and Lysanias.<sup>73</sup>

The attempts which Aratos and the Achaean League had made prior to 239 to capture the Peiraieus were renewed upon the death of Antigonos Gonatas, and a war broke out in 238/7 which had not yet come to an end in 236/5.<sup>74</sup> The Athenians are censured by Plutarch for indecently rejoicing over the reported death of their distinguished adversary, and indeed Athenian troops joined the Macedonian garrisons in protecting the country.<sup>75</sup> The struggle was one in which, according to Aratos' usual tactics, his enemies had more to fear from surprises—night at-

<sup>70</sup> JUDEICH: *Topographie von Athen* p. 315, n. 27.

<sup>71</sup> BELOCH: *Griech. Gesch.* III 2, p. 61.

<sup>72</sup> I G II 5 614b; cf. KOLBE: *Festschrift f. Otto Hirschfeld* p. 314.

<sup>73</sup> See above p. 140.

<sup>74</sup> For a description of this struggle see KOLBE in *Festschrift für Otto Hirschfeld* pp. 315 ff.

<sup>75</sup> I G II 5 614b is the only document relating to garrisons in Eleusis in which a detachment of foreign mercenaries appears. The others belong between 318/7 and 276/5? and after 229. The nationality of the mercenaries of 238 ff. is worth noticing. So far as the extant names permit a judgment, it seems that there were no Celts among them. They are mainly Greeks. One is designated *Ἀχαιός*—a deserter or traitor.

One of the soldiers' decrees (Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, p. 33) found at Eleusis begins as follows: *Ἐπειδὴ Ἀντί[γονος] ὁ [βα]σιλεὺς ἀφικόμενος*. Unfortunately nothing further is extant. The orator, however, was *Ἀμεινοκλῆς Ταχύλλου Κυδαθηναίος*. The same name appears in I G II 1024 l. 9—a list which belongs before 307. The probabilities, given by the name-connections, are

tacks, ambuscades, etc., than from drawn battles. It seldom came to a regular campaign, but the destruction of the crops had constantly to be expected by the Athenians, and on at least one occasion Aratos marched even into the suburbs of Athens. In 236/5 it is said of the general ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνος, Aristophanes, ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ ὅπως ἐκ τῆς χώρας οἱ σί[τοι] μετ' ἀσφαλείας εἰσενεχθῶσιν. The situation had not essentially changed in 232/1. On the last of Elaphebolion of this year a subscription was started to provide the ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν with funds.<sup>16</sup> The purpose of the contribution is stated to be [ἵνα κατὰ τὸν κ]ατάλοιπον χρόνον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ συνκ[ομισθῶσιν οἱ ἐκ γῆς? κ]αρποί μετ' ἀσφαλείας. The inference to be made is that in the earlier part of the year the harvesting had been molested or at any rate accompanied by danger. A study of the provenience of the subscribers will, I believe, show where the exposed crops lay: 9 of them came from Erchia, 5 from Paiania, 5 from Sphettos, 3 from Halai, 3 from Phlya, and 3 from Kephisia. Of these Phlya and Kephisia lay in the eastern side of the Athenian plain, placed at the entrance of the valley which led into the Mesogeia proper. The others were in the heart of the Mesogeia itself, and constituted its most important villages. The only other deme, which in the extant portion of the list furnished more than two subscribers, was Phyle. From the six city demes Melite, Skambonidai, Kerameikos, Kollytos, Kydathenaion, Kolonos, there came a total of only four or five. There were none for Phaleron or Peiraieus, and only one each from Eleusis and Sunion. It is true

that it belongs before 320, and a grandson of one of the men in the catalogue, Χαϊρώνδης Θρασωνίδου Αἰθαλίδης, was ephebe in 283/2 while the *akme* of the grandson of another, Ἐπιγένης Ἐπιγένους Κυδαθηναίης, came according to Kirchner in c. 268 B.C. There is, therefore, no unlikelihood that the Ameinokles of II 1024 and of Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, p. 33, are grandfather and grandson—if the time of the latter document is 276/5-266/5. And at what other time could a king Antigonos come in contact with Athenian troops in garrison at Eleusis? Between 262/1 and 240/39 mercenaries would have been associated with Athenians and Eleusinians in the decree. Antigonos the One-Eyed was king between 306 and 301, but was never near Athens in that interval. Antigonos Doson was not on such terms with Athens as to make a visit (what else does ἀφικόμενος mean?) possible. On the other hand our tradition represents Antigonos Gonatas as a frequent visitor of Athens between 276/5 and 261/0 (death of Zeno), i.e., 266/5 B.C. (outbreak of Chremonidean War).

<sup>16</sup> I G II 5 614b ll. 66f.

<sup>17</sup> I G II 334.

that the list as we have it is fragmentary, but the demes in it are not arranged on any principle, nor are the individuals from one deme listed together. We have no reason, therefore, to suppose that a different proportional distribution would result from an analysis of the entire catalogue.

The explanation of these facts would seem to be that the crops which could still be preserved and harvested in 232/1 B.C. lay for the most part in the Mesogeia. Those in the Athenian plain itself, we may suppose, were already destroyed in whole or in part. And what was true in 232/1 was, we may safely assume, true in a great many instances in the course of the third century. While the rest of Attica was exposed to the ravages of war, from pirates on the coast places,<sup>78</sup> from the soldiers of Alexander, Krateros' son, in c. 252 ff., and of Aratos, and the Achaean League during the latter part of Antigonos Gonatas' reign and the whole of Demetrios II's, the Mesogeia proper, protected by Pentelikon and Hymettos and by the flanking position which Athens and the Peiraeus assumed to an invader of the trans-Hymettos region, enjoyed practical immunity from devastation, and came in consequence to be politically the most important section of Attica.

The *κοινὸν τῶν Μεσογείων* meets us in the inscriptions for the first time in one of Olbios' archonship and for the last time in a contemporary document.

Olbios must necessarily occupy the year 251/0; for 239/8, the only other place between 261 and 229 open to an archon whose secretary was from Aiantis, must be assigned to Charikles. The reason for this is as follows: Aristokreon, the nephew of the philosopher Chrysippos, who is commended for various services to Athens in Charikles' year, cannot possibly have been old enough for such a distinction in 251/0, yet the decree was passed prior to 229.<sup>79</sup>

The constitution of the *κοινόν* lies for the most part beyond our ken. It undoubtedly embraced men from demes which belonged to different tribes and trittyes in the Kleisthenian system. Curiously enough the chief officer (*ἄρχων*) for the only two occa-

<sup>78</sup> I G II<sup>5</sup> 591b.

<sup>79</sup> WILHELM: 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1901, pp. 52, 55.

sions on which he is known came from Bate and Kydathenaion, suburban or city demes. The patron deity of the *κοινόν* was Herakles, and, since two of the three stones which have inscriptions relating to the association were found in Diomeia, it is clear that the temple in which the decrees of the *κοινόν* are said to have been set up, was the famous one of Herakles in Kynosarges.

Although the *κοινόν τῶν Μεσογείων*, like that of the "four cities", (*Τετράπολις*) was primarily a religious federation, its creation or revival in about 250 cannot have lacked some political significance. The union of the demesmen it involved must have given them increased influence in the *ekklesia*. Their material prosperity came into relief now that the shipping and trade of the Peiraeus and Athens had diminished, and the weakening of Athens' predominance in Attica must have strengthened the separatist tendencies always latent in a mountainous country. The *Mesogeia* was exposed to spoliation because Athens was of necessity involved in all of Macedon's wars. It could not escape them by making the state join Macedon's enemies. It got no help from Athens' walls, nor did the recovery of sea-power lie within the range of its ambition. And now for the first time since the days of Kleisthenes the *Mesogeia* determined the policy of Athens. Of this there can be little doubt. The three most influential families in the state before and after 229 came, Dromeas-Diokles from Erchia, Mikion-Eurykleides from Kephisia, Zenon-Asklepiades from Phyle—all from demes located in the Kleisthenian *Mesogeia*. These were the men who foiled Aratos of his hope of bringing Athens into the Achaean League, and carried through the policy of strict neutrality which gave the country respite from wars and devastation for nearly thirty years.

9. From Kimon's year we possess a list of ephebes.<sup>80</sup> It contained from twenty to thirty names. It is the last of the kind till we reach the second half of the second century B.C. The disposition of the names in the list is like that of I G II 338 (Philoneos), and 324 (Polyeuktos, 275/4), and all three differ in a significant point from the catalogue of 283/2 (I G II 316, Menekles). In the earlier list the deme is used to segregate the names

<sup>80</sup> I G II 330.

into groups; in the later ones the tribe alone performs this function. Since the number of names is about equally small in each case, the classification of them in about 150 deme-groups is absurd—explicable only on the supposition that it is the survival of an idea, sensible in the not very distant past. In 305/4 (I G II 5, 251b) the same system is employed, and it meets us again in 334/3 (I G II 5, 563b), but in each of these instances it is applied to a much larger number of names.

In 334/3 the ephebe system described by Aristotle<sup>81</sup> was in existence. All the young men in their eighteenth and nineteenth years were obliged to serve as ephebes. Upon attaining legal maturity, they were entered by the demarchs in the official list of citizens, and became thereby attached till their sixtieth year for ephebe, military, and judicial service to the archon-eponymos for the year of their registration. They were put as ephebes under the supervision of state officials, the most important of whom were one *kosmetes*, chosen from all the citizens, and ten *sophronistai*, taken from thirty reputable and qualified citizens nominated by the tribes.

The list for 334/3 contained οἱ ἔ[φηβοι] (τῆς Κεκροπίδος) οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλέο(υ)ς ἄρχοντος ἐνγραφέντες.<sup>82</sup> In it there were from forty-four to fifty names.<sup>83</sup> There were therefore about 500 ephebes enrolled under the archon Ktesikles, and as many more are to be added for the archon of the preceding year; so that the young men of Athens in their eighteenth and nineteenth years numbered about 1,000.<sup>84</sup> Since there were only 33 in 283/2, it is clear that the compulsory service has already become voluntary. The term, too, was seemingly reduced to one year, and the *sophronistai* exist no longer. We have to do with a most important change in the life and institutions of Attica. It was equivalent to the abandonment of universal conscription as a national system of defense, and in the case of Athens that meant the con-

<sup>81</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 42.

<sup>82</sup> The technical term for registration with the demarchs; cf. ARISTOTLE: *loc. cit.*

<sup>83</sup> FOUCAULT: B. C. H., XIII, p. 263, thinks that col. I of I G II 5 563b had more than 22 names. Col. II had 22.

<sup>84</sup> So GIRARD: article "Ἐφηβοί" in *Daremberg et Saglio*.



fession of the city's inability to protect herself with her own resources. When in an age of war Athens renounced the effort to train her young men in the highly technical profession of arms, it was over with her days as a free-acting political agent.

The time of this confession of impotence is surely worth investigating. Its determination rests largely with the ephebe-list I G II 5, 251b. This is like that of 334/3 in giving us the ephebes for one year only. What we have is a catalogue of τοὺς ἐφήβους τοῦς ἐνγ[ραφέντας ἐπὶ Κοροΐβου ἄρχοντος. Moreover two sons of Ergokles from the same deme, if the restorations are correct, which is doubtful, and two sons of Kephisokles of Kikynna, if the restorations again are correct, appear in it. Unless these are in both cases twins, or mere coincidences, or false restorations, it is imperative for us to assume that in 305/4 the term of office was already reduced, as in 283/2 ff., to one year.

The number of ephebes must next be ascertained. The stone is so badly damaged that an approximation is all that is possible. Eighteen names are extant in part or in whole from the tribe Erechtheis and fourteen from the tribe Akamantis. How many are lost?

It is known that the population of the tribes<sup>85</sup> and demes is quite evenly represented in the surviving names, and that it is the big demes that have the largest representation in Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica*. A comparison of the relative strength of the demes in the P. A. and in the prytany-lists will show this to be the case. Enonymon had eleven ephebes in 305/4: it has 208 names out of a total of 929 for the tribe Erechtheis in the P. A. That suggests a total of slightly over fifty for the ephebe-list of this tribe. In the case of Akamantis, Thorikos had 1 ephebe to a total representation of 129; Kerameikos had 3 to 143; Kephale had over 5 to 120; and Kikynna had 2 to 56. The four have over 11 to 448, which yields about 26 for the whole tribe with 979. A comparison of the ephebe-list with the list of the prytanies will probably yield a safer result. Part of Paiania was assigned to Antigonis. It was undoubtedly the smaller part,<sup>86</sup> which, in a prytany of fifty, got but one member in I G II 871 and 865, while

<sup>85</sup> See KOERTE: *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1903, pp. 829 f.

<sup>86</sup> BATES: *Cornell Studies* VIII, p. 12.

the other part, which remained in Pandionis, had regularly 12. We do not know how many Παιανιείς from Pandionis were ephebes in 305/4, but from Antigonis there came three. This suggests that the ephebe-list was much larger than the prytany-list. So, too, Phegus had one ephebe in 305/4, whereas it had no senator at all in I G II 5 871b. There are four names and one fragment of a name extant in I G II 5 251b frg. k from an unknown deme. Since there were so many, the deme can have been only Kydathenaion, Oe, or Myrrhinus. It was certainly Myrrhinus; for three<sup>87</sup> of the four names are found among the Μυρρινούσιοι in Kirchner's *Prosopographia*, and none among those from either of the other two demes. Hence there were at least five ephebes from Myrrhinus in 305/4. This deme was represented by six members in the senate in the fourth century.

All this evidence goes to show that there were as many names in each tribal list in 305/4 as in 334/3, and that the total number must have been between five and six hundred. At the time of the census of Demetrius of Phaleron there were 21,000 citizens in Athens. This, on the ratio of the Belgian census,<sup>88</sup> calls for 1,176 young men in their eighteenth and nineteenth years, or about 588 for either of these ages. It is thus likely that I G II 5 251b contains a list of young men of only one age,<sup>89</sup> and it is to be observed that this document takes cognizance of the registration in the demes (οἱ ἐνγραφέντες ἐπὶ Κοροΐβου ἄρχοντος), just as I G II 5 563b does, whereas in 283/2 the young men are referred to as

<sup>87</sup> For Kallisthenes cf. P.A. 8103; for Athenodoros P.A. 276; and for Aristokrates P.A. 1921. [Sundwall (l. c. below n. 89) shows that this list does not belong to Myrrhinus.]

<sup>88</sup> FRANCOTTE: *L'Industrie dans la Grèce ancienne* (Bibliothèque de la faculté de philosophie de l'université de Liège, Fasc., VII, 1900, p. 164.)

<sup>89</sup> Among the . . εἰς of Demetrias appear side by side the ephebes—Ἐργοκλέους and —Ἐργοκλέους. The last name may be restored in many ways, e.g., Φίλοκλέους, Θεμιστοκλέους, Ἱεροκλέους, etc. Among the Κικυννείς are [Ἀ]μάχος Κηφισοκλ[έους] and [Εῦ]βουλος Κηφισοκ[λέους]. Here too there is possible a number of different restorations of one name, e.g., Κηφισο[δότης] Κηφισο[φώντος] Κηφισο[δῶρου] κτλ. It is simply through the assumption that we have to do with two pairs of brothers that the restorations in the *Corpus* became current. Brothers are, of course, common in the same ephebe-lists when the service was for one year only and there was no compulsion as to age-limits or registration. [Some of the details of this treatment of I G II 5 251b will have to be altered because of Sundwall's clever rearrangement of the document (*De institutis reipublicae Atheniensium post Aristotelis aetatem commutatis. Acta Societatis fennicae XXXIII* (1907), but the general conclusion is substantiated.]

τοὺς ἐφηβεύσαντας ἐπὶ Μενε<ο>κλέους ἄρχοντος. If the service were voluntary in 305/4 and in 283/2 it is impossible to explain why 1,100 (at least 5-600) came forward in the earlier year and only 33 in the latter; for the city was equally popular in its government and equally involved in a serious foreign war in the two years.

I conclude therefore that the national ephebe system was still in existence in 305/4, and this result finds substantial confirmation in that the *sophronistai*, who are lacking in 283/2 ff., are found in this year still. The *sophronistai* appear in 303/2 also (I G II 5 565b), so that the change had not occurred at that date. It therefore took place in the following twenty years. Had a national ephebe system been in existence when Athens regained her independence in 289, it would never have been abolished by the democrats in the war-time which followed. Nor is it conceivable that it was abolished in 289 itself. On the other hand, if done away with prior to 295/4, the democrats on recovering the government in that year would have been unable to restore it because of their relations to Demetrius Poliorcetes. A Macedonian garrison in Museion and a restoration of universal conscription do not harmonize. The only occasion suitable for this momentous change came in 301 B.C. In this year a government was established in Athens on a moderately aristocratic basis—its enemies called it an oligarchy—which had as its foreign policy the abandonment of all imperialistic notions, and, without sacrifice of independence, the maintenance of friendly, neutral relations with all the powers.<sup>90</sup> It was this government which made the ephebe system voluntary. The number of ephebes instantly fell to a mere handful. Ten *sophronistai* for about three times as many charges seemed absurd. The *sophronistai* were therefore dispensed with. But the old habit of registering the ephebes under deme-captions persisted. It existed in 283/2, but upon the change of government in 276/5, it was also discarded, and in 275/4 ff. the tribe-captions alone are used. Had Kimon II belonged in 292/1, the old system should have been employed in I G II 330.

10. I G II 5 371c will have to be dated in either 250/49 or

<sup>90</sup> *Beitr. alt. Gesch.* V, pp. 155 ff.; EDUARD MEYER: *ibid.* pp. 180 ff.

249/8; for the secretary's deme began with 'Ελ, which can be restored only as Εἰρεσίδης or Εἰρεαῖος. For Akamantis, the tribe of Eiresidai, there is no place between 256/5 and 243/2. Eitea, which at this time belonged to both Antiochis and Antigonis, has a place in 250/49 or 249/8. The decree was passed at the conclusion of the war between Athens and Argos, friends of Antigonos Gonatas, on the one side, and Alexander, his rebellious nephew, on the other. It commends Aristomachos of Argos for insisting on including Athens in the peace he had purchased from the successful rebel. Alexander was dead in 243:<sup>91</sup> he had not rebelled in 256, i.e., when Antigonos withdrew his garrison from the Museion. Hence the dating above given. It is obvious that the *akme* of Alexander's success was reached a short time before the passing of the decree, i.e., in either 250 or 249.

Diogeiton has been assigned to 252/1 because Ἀκρότιμος Αἰσχίου Ἰκαριεύς, who moved the passing of I G II Add. Nov. 352b in this archonship, was ταμίης (τῶν στρατιωτικῶν?) in 255/4. Twelve years earlier is out of the question, for that takes us back of the Macedonian regime. Twelve years later in 240/39 is possible, but much less probable.

It is evident that the archon-list I G II 859 was begun, as Zhebelev and Kirchner claimed,<sup>92</sup> in the year 230/29 with the officers for the first year of Athenian independence.

Three boys who were 18 in Phaidrias' archonship were τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας in the year of Anthesterios.<sup>93</sup> Anthesterios was archon in 160/59 or 158/7–156/5; for a boy τῆς δευτέρας ἡλικίας in 161/0 won the boxing-match open to boys of all ages in Anthesterios' archonship. 159/8 is excluded, because comic exhibitions, which were not given in two successive years, were given in 161/0 and in the year which preceded that of Anthesterios. The possibilities are Phaidrias in 154/3 and Anthesterios in 160/59, or Phaidrias in 153/2 and Anthesterios in 158/7. A boy of 15 has little chance in a boxing match with others of 19. A boy of 17 is a much more likely winner. Hence the last possibility is to be pre-

<sup>91</sup> Corinth was taken by Aratos in 243 from Antigonos, not from Alexander. [Kirchner (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1906, p. 990) gives ground for assigning I G II 5 371c to 250/49.]

<sup>92</sup> *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1900, p. 448.

<sup>93</sup> For the references see *Cornell Studies* X, pp. 67 f.

ferred. It is assumed with Rangabe (*Ant. Hell.*, II, 678 ff.) that *παῖδες τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας* were 12 and 13, *παῖδες τῆς δευτέρας ἡλικίας* 14 and 15, and *παῖδες τῆς τρίτης ἡλικίας* 16, 17, 18, and 19 years old.

The result of Wilhelm's combination<sup>94</sup> of I G II<sup>5</sup> 385e, 496c, and II Add. 453b is that the name of the priest for Timarchos' year (138/7 B.C.) was .....? Νικο[υ.....] Φλυεύς. No Attic names begin with Νικο[υ, and, in fact, what is read by Koehler as Τ can be equally well Κ. Then the restoration [Ζωῖλος] Νικοκ[ράτου] Φλυεύς may be made. No other name among the Φλυεῖς in the *Prosopographia* fulfills the conditions. Zoilos' father Νικοκράτης Ζωίλου Φλυεύς was an ephebe in 172/1 (I G II 1224). His cousin Ζωῖλος Ζωίλου Φλυεύς was priest of Serapis in 117/6 (P.A. 6251) and of ἀγνῆς Ἀφροδίτης in 105/4?. In I G II<sup>5</sup> 373c (230/29?) Ζωῖλος Ζωίλου Φλυεύς is found. One item in the catalogue of dedications to Asklepios given in I G II 403 (Thrasymphon 221/0) is as follows: τύπον δὲ ἀνέθηκεν Ζωῖλος ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδίου. The two are probably the same. The priest of Asklepios in 138/7 will be the great-grand-son of the donor of 221/0 B.C.

I have to thank Johannes Sundwall of the Royal Alexander University in Helsingfors for an admirable monograph, entitled *Epigraphische Beiträge zur sozial-politischen Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter des Demosthenes* (Leipzig: Kreysing, 1906),<sup>95</sup> which I received while my study was in the press. Sundwall has also made the discovery (pp. 47 f.) that the official order was employed to distribute the priesthood of Asklepios among the tribes, and in section 9 (pp. 75 ff.) he tabulates the extant priests. The matter had only a subsidiary interest for him, however, and his failure to examine I G II 836 with sufficient thoroughness has made his list for the most part incorrect. His cardinal error was in not distinguishing between the priests and

<sup>94</sup> *Berl. phil. Woch.*, 1902, pp. 1908 f.

<sup>95</sup> Also published in *Beitr. alt. Gesch.* as *Beiheft* IV.

ex-priests of Asklepios found in this document. And yet they are marked off with all reasonable precision. The annual offerings to the temple are invariably catalogued under the headings *καὶ τὰδε ἐφ' ἱερέως Προκλέους Πειραιέως* (l. 22), *Φιλέου Εἰτεαίου* (l. 36), etc., the priests in office for each year being thus clearly designated. The ex-priests simply make dedications like other people, e.g. *σκάφιον, ἱερεὺς Λυσικλῆς Συναλήττιος* (l. 22) etc., and when the officiating priest donates anything, this, too, is recorded by entering it regularly as an item in the section to which his name gives the date. There is not the least difficulty in deciding which is a priest and which an ex-priest, and yet their confusion vitiates the entire disposition of the priests in Sundwall's table.

Sundwall (p. 76, n. 1) suggests that the archon-name E[ύ- of II 835, l. 8, be restored Euxenippos (305/5). This is practically impossible. The secretary for 305/4 was [.....]ος Λύκου Ἀλωπεκῆθε[ν] (I G II Add. 252b; II 5 252c): that for the year of II 835 *Κλειγ[ένης]*, no other restoration of line 1 being possible. It is true that [.....]ος Λύκου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν is found only in inscriptions from which the archon-name is lost, but *Εὐξενίππου* fills the *lacuna* in these exactly, and there is absolutely no place, except 305/4, in the entire neighborhood in which a secretary from Alopeke can be placed. There can be no doubt that E[ύ- must be restored Eu[bulos].

In regard to *Λυσανία[ς Με]λι(τεύς)* Sundwall says, (p. 78 n. 3): *Die Ergänzung ist ganz sicher. Von M ist noch eine Spur übrig.* It is true that a faint scratch like the lower limb of a M appears in the *lacuna* of l. 33. But the space certainly calls for more than three letters, and on other grounds also the restoration *Λυσανία[ς Προβα]λί(σιος)* is much preferable.<sup>96</sup>

The juxtaposition of Nikomachos (l. 33) and Nikomachos *Παιανεύς* of II 839, though it tempted me to make the same restoration as Sundwall has made (p. 78, n. 2), is probably deceitful. It would require Nikomachos to have been priest prior to 276/5.

The restoration *Τιμοκλῆς Εἰτεαῖος* (l. 16) Sundwall also makes. So, too, he assigns Telesias of Phlya to 336/5 and Eunikides of Halai to 341/0. To Teisias (338/7) he likewise gives the

<sup>96</sup> See above, pp. 149 f. [where the restoration of Sundwall is accepted].

demotikon Κεφαλῆθεν and to Pataikos that of Ἐλευσίνας. The reasons given above (p. 145) show that Lysitheos of Trikorynthos was not priest in 334/3.

Number V<sup>3</sup> of *Klio* (the new and convenient title of *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*) also reached me after my study had gone to the printer. I am pleased to find that Beloch in his article *Griechische Aufgebote* (p. 352) arrives at approximately the same conclusion, though by a slightly different method, as to the number of ephebes listed in I G II<sup>5</sup> 251b. The comparison which I have instituted between this ephebe-list and the prytany-lists can now be carried further by the aid of Sundwall's tables (*op. cit.*, pp. 86 ff.). It is perhaps worth noting that this same scholar (p. 89) has proved the correctness of Bates' conjecture (*Cornell Studies* VIII, p. 12) that the part of Paiania transferred to Antigonis (see above p. 164) was the smaller one of the two.

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt (the distinguished historian, C. F. Lehmann; the *Beiträge* and its founder being, it seems, rebaptized at the same time) in his well considered article *Zur attischen Politik vor dem Chremonideischen Kriege*, which this number of *Klio* also contains (pp. 375 ff.), has doubtless done a good service in showing that Athens in 274/0 had the same foreign policy as in 301 ff.—the establishment of friendly relations with all the great powers of the time. Its embassy to Pyrrhus (Justin, XXV, 4, 4) probably sought respect for its neutrality. And in fact the city had the friendship of Ptolemy and his allies, the Spartans and others; of Antigonos, at this time Ptolemy's friend; and seemingly of Pyrrhus, for it was not molested by him.

Lehmann-Haupt's explanation of the estrangement of Ptolemy and Antigonos—the designs of Arsinoe upon the throne of Macedonia—is also plausible. And I do not think that it is invalidated by the fact that the Chremonidean War did *not* begin in 268. Philokrates cannot now be ejected from 268/7, and since the capture of Athens came in the fall of 262, five military seasons had then elapsed, if the war began in the summer of 266 (Peithidemos). Pausanias' remark that the Athenians resisted for a very long time (ἐπὶ μακρότατον) calls for no more than this. It is, of course, none the less possible, as Lehmann-Haupt maintains,

that the treaty made between Athens and Ptolemy in 266 was the deferred result of an understanding *aimed at* in 274/0 while Arsinoe was still alive.

[I have endeavored to join the series of Asklepios-priests and the series of prytany-secretaries for the early third century before Christ to a fixed chronology in 288/7, 262/1, and 221/0. It may be granted cheerfully that no one of these joints is absolutely fast: that 263/2 and 262/1 are alike open for the end of the Chremonidean War, and that *suffectio* and reëlection of magistrates are alike adequate to explain the reduplication of Antiochis in the priestly series; that 288/7 and 284/3 are both possible for Isaïos, and that there is no necessary parallelism between the series of secretaries constructed by working backward from 221/0 and the series of priests during the period 262/1-229/8. I have not sought to make a mathematical proof: an historical demonstration is sufficient. In this, however, I believe that I have succeeded. Otherwise, moreover, we have to do with a most astounding series of accidents. It must be an accident that upon the restoration of the official order of the priests' tribes in 307/6, the rotation began with the first tribe, Erechtheis. It must be an accident that both priests' and secretaries' tribes locate Isaïos in 288/7. It must be an accident that the official order of the secretaries' tribes demands Antigonis, again the *coryphaeus* of the sequence, in 261/0; that the Macedonian coins make their first appearance in Athens in that year; that the end of 263/2 was chosen by the cataloguers of the Asklepios' dedications as the point at which to enter a lot of semi-official offerings, made by priests during the preceding thirteen years; and that the legislative activity of Athens, and state dedications to the shrine of Asklepios began anew in 256/5—the year in which, according to Eusebius, the Athenians regained their autonomy. It must be an accident that the division between I G II 835 and I G II 836 occurs in the archonship of E[χ.,] and that no priests are mentioned in the latter half of this joint catalogue who cannot be located preferably after 276/5 (there is no place for one more), while a change of government suited to explain both the division and the absence of earlier priests took place in the archonship of Eubulos, in 276/5. Professor Kolbe (*Deutsche Literaturzeit.* 1907, pp. 932 ff.) may believe in the possibility of such accidents. I do not.]



## APPENDIX I—LIST OF PRIESTS.

## IV century B.C.

- Ἀρίσταρχος Κοθωκίδης II 1466, 1468.  
 Ἀρχῆ? ..δου [ἐκ Κοίλ]ης II 1479.  
 Ἐ[λ]πίνης II 1446.  
 Εὐθύδημος Ἐλευσίνιος II 1651.  
 Κτησικλῆ[ς] Ἀ]γνούσιος II 1481; III 144.  
 Μελάνωπος Χολαργεὺς II 1472.  
 Μενέστρατος Ἀγγεληθεὺς II 1447, 1448. 350/49?  
 Νικόδημος II 1440.  
 Τίμων II 1473.  
 Φιλοκλῆς Ξυπεταιῶν II 1475.

## IV or III century B.C.

- Ὀλύμπιχος Κυδαθηναίεύς II 1491.

## III century B.C.

- Αἰσχρονομίδ[ης] II 1496.  
 Δημαγένης II 1350 296/5?  
 Εὐθύδημο[ς] Ἀντικλέους ἐξ [Οἴου] II 1496.  
 Νικωνίδης Φλυεὺς II 1495 301/0, 289/8.  
 Σίμ]υλος Νικοστράτου [ἐκ Κ]οίλης II 1500.  
 Φίλιος Φαληρεὺς II 1505. End of century.  
 Φορμ[ίω]ν Ἡδύλου [Ἐλ]ευσίνιος II 1504. End of century.

## II century B.C.

- Ζήνων Ἀθηναγόρου Μελιτεὺς II 1204.  
 Λεωνίδης Φλυεὺς II 840. Archon Pleistainos.

## I century B.C.

- Νι[κ]όστρατος Ἀφιδναῖο[ς] II 1511.  
 Σοφοκλῆς Φιλώτου Σουνιεὺς, γόνυ δὲ Διονυσιοδώρου Δειρα-  
 διώτου *Ath. Mitt.* XXI, p. 297, c. 100 B.C.  
 — Μυρριν(ούσιος)? I G II Add. 477 c. Archon Kal-.

## I and II centuries A.D.

Ἀγαθόπους Φλυεὺς III 693. Archon Peiso c. 175 A.D.

Ἀσωπ[όδαρος] Κλεομένους Φλυ(εὺς) III 102a. c. 61 A.D.

Διόφανης Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀξηγιεύς III 228, 228 a, 229, 229 a.

Θεό[φιλος] Εὐδόξου Ἐλευσίσιος III 132 n.

Φλά(οις) III 729.

— Κ]ολλυτεὺς III 181 h. Archon Q. Trebellius Rufus  
c. 100 A.D.

•



# HORACE'S ALCAIC STROPHE

BY

LEON JOSIAH RICHARDSON.

The Alcaic<sup>1</sup> strophe as employed by Horace involves the following quantities:

A ≈ — — — — — — — — —  
 A ≈ — — — — — — — — —  
 B ≈ — — — — — — — — —  
 C — — — — — — — — —

Descende caelo et dic age tibia  
 regina longum Calliope melos,  
 seu voce nunc mavis acuta,  
 seu fidibus citharave Phoebi.

(III, 4, 1-4.)

## A. THE ELEVEN-SYLLABLE ALCAIC.

(1) What word-arrangements are possible in a line of eleven syllables and how many of them did Horace actually employ? It is evident that there are two ways of arranging words in a line of two syllables (namely, either *monosyllable monosyllable* or *dissyllable*), four ways in a line of three syllables, eight ways in a line of four syllables, and so on. In short, we are able to make out the total possible ways in a given line by means of the formula  $2^{n-1}$  ( $n$  being the number of syllables in the line). Thus it appears that in a line of eleven syllables 1,024 different arrangements are possible. Yet among his 634 examples of A Horace

<sup>1</sup> This meter is found in thirty-seven of Horace's Odes, aggregating 317 strophes or 1,268 lines. Ten of these Odes, containing 60 strophes, are in Book I; twelve, containing 86 strophes, are in Book II; eleven, containing 118 strophes, are in Book III; and four, containing 53 strophes, are in Book IV.

emphasized the III arrangements, training himself generally to the III that follow:

1. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	17 cases
2. <i>amicus agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	24 cases
3. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	20 cases
4. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
5. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
6. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
7. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
8. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
9. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
10. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
11. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
12. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
13. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
14. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
15. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
16. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
17. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
18. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
19. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases
20. <i>homo agilis pedes agiles</i> . . . . .	27 cases

3. Elmsley departed from his Greek models by putting a long syllable almost always in the first space and always in the fifth space. See Table VIII<sup>1</sup> on the reading of III, 5-17; see Keesling's note.

4. In its Greek form it was without a fixed measure or measure. But in the Armenian are the "iteration theory" of measures held sway. See *Chelitsch, Metrik*, pp. 7 and 73, and Harnack, apparently under its influence, divided the Eleven-Syllable Arabic into two phrases of sound, each constant in length. This he did by making a word end regularly in the fifth space. See Table I. Only five exceptions occur: I, 37, 14; IV, 14, 17; I, 14, 21; I, 37, 5; II, 17, 21; and in three of these the last three as cited the regular division is not wholly absent, falling as it does between the members of a compound word. He admitted *epitheta longa* in the final space of A, and hiatus occasionally between A and A' or between A and B. See Table V.

5. Latin quantitative versification is based on a number of principles, one of which is important for our present purpose.

<sup>1</sup> This term is used to designate any part of a verse occupied by a syllable, whether long or short, there being seven such spaces in A.

<sup>2</sup> The tables are to be found at the close of this paper.

namely, in the initial portion (generally two or more feet) of a verse rhetorical elements should not often coincide with corresponding metrical elements. That is to say, coincidence, when it does occur, is generally preceded or followed by non-coincidence. And so it happens, among other things, that successive words seldom fill each a single foot; successive word-accent usually do not coincide with ictuses; caesuras on the average outnumber diaereses. These facts are hinted at by Quintilian in IX, 4, 90: *plerique enim ex commissuris eorum [i.e., verborum] vel divisione fiunt pedes: ex quo fit ut isdem verbis alii atque alii versus fiant*. The principle under consideration is obeyed in the first and second of the following verses, but disobeyed in the third:

virginibus Tyriis mos est gestare pharetram. (Verg. *Aen.* I, 336.)  
 quaerere constituit sociisque exacta referre. (*Ib.* I, 309.)  
 sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret. (Ennius, *Varia* 14.)

Thus we have an important clue to the metrical structure of any given poem. By way of brief illustration, let us suppose that we are trying to discover the meter of the *Aeneid*. The initial portion of the verses is composed in a great variety of ways, but seldom or never with any of the following word-arrangements:

denique Caesare.  
 primae terrae.  
 denique terrae.  
 primo Caesare.

This is all the more significant because such groups occur often in Latin prose. The fact is, these word-arrangements are not allowed to begin the verse in question because the rhetorical elements would each exactly coincide with corresponding metrical elements throughout more than one foot. The conclusion is therefore to be drawn that the feet at the outset of Vergil's verse are either dactyls or spondees or both combined.

We may reach this same result by another method of analysis. Within the initial portion of the verses word-breaks tend to occur at certain points with marked frequency. These points, according to the principle above described, must be *within* feet. Otherwise expressed, they must be caesuras. Knowing where the caesuras are located, we are able to differentiate them from diaereses and so to identify the feet.

(5) Verse *A* is nowadays often divided into feet as follows:

$$\text{C} : - \sim | - \text{C} || - \sim \sim | - \sim | - \text{C}$$

But we find in Horace many verses, like

O matre pulchra filia pulchrior,

where there would be an overwhelming correspondence of words and feet. Again, according to the theory represented in this scheme, a trochee would end with the third space, and yet about half the verses have a break there; if this were really a diaeresis, the unity and flowing character of the verse would vanish. By this theory, the fundamental foot would be trisemic, despite the fact that most of the feet as represented have syllables that are at variance with such a norm. Furthermore the line would begin with anacrusis, which is here unsupported by any genuine evidence. In short, this interpretation of Horace's verse rests on no direct ancient authority, it disregards well established laws of quantitative verse structure, and altogether is a false guide for those who would read the Alcaic strophe in the manner intended by the Roman poet.

(6) Let us now regard what we have called the first phrase of verse *A* and analyse it according to the method outlined in section 4 above.

*First Space.* In 119 verses this space is occupied by a *monosyllable*.

*Second Space.* (= -) In 291 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by:

$\alpha$ dissyllable .....	211 times
$\beta$ monosyllable monosyllable .....	80 times

*Third Space.* (= - -) In 308 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by:

$\alpha$ trisyllable .....	199 times
$\beta$ monosyllable dissyllable .....	67 times
$\gamma$ dissyllable monosyllable .....	33 times
$\delta$ three monosyllables .....	9 times

The fact that Horace allows words to end here with great frequency is significant. It implies that the break after the third space is a caesura. This and the sequence of quantities involved

point to iambic movement at the outset of *A*. Significant also are the different degrees of favor represented in the numbers 67 and 33, which result in part from the fact that an iambic movement is thrown into less bold relief<sup>4</sup> by cases under  $\beta$  than by those under  $\gamma$ .

*Fourth Space.* (---) In 53 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by:

$\alpha$	<i>quadrisyllable</i> .....	4 times
$\beta$	<i>trisyllable monosyllable</i> .....	22 times
$\gamma$	<i>monosyllable trisyllable</i> .....	10 times
$\delta$	<i>dissyllable dissyllable</i> .....	3 times
$\epsilon$	<i>monosyllable dissyllable monosyllable</i> .....	9 times
$\zeta$	<i>monosyllable monosyllable dissyllable</i> .....	5 times
$\eta$	<i>dissyllable monosyllable monosyllable</i> .....	0 times
$\theta$	<i>four monosyllables</i> .....	0 times

The cases under  $\alpha$  are II, 17, 6; III, 5, 10; 21, 10; IV, 4, 69. Two of them, at least, may be neglected: in III, 5, 10, the quadrisyllable exists only so far as results from an elided pentasyllable; in IV, 4, 69, the verse begins *Carthagini iam*, where the noun and particle are closely joined and the effect is much the same as though the first phrase of *A* embraced a single pentasyllabic word. The rarity of quadrisyllables at the outset of verse *A*, taken in connection with the succession of quantities, is an indication of iambic movement. Noteworthy also are the different degrees of favor represented in the numbers 22 and 10, an iambic movement being thrown into less bold relief by cases under  $\beta$  than by those under  $\gamma$ . The unwelcome character of the cases under  $\delta$  is made evident not only by their rarity but also by the

<sup>4</sup> An iamb is thrown into relief when it is occupied by a *dissyllable*, or by two *monosyllables*; a diiamb when it is occupied by:

- a quadrisyllable.*
- b dissyllable dissyllable.*
- c dissyllable monosyllable monosyllable.*
- d monosyllable monosyllable dissyllable.*
- e monosyllable dissyllable monosyllable.*
- f monosyllable trisyllable.*
- g trisyllable monosyllable.*
- h four monosyllables.*

As a rule, it is less objectionable to throw into relief the anlaut than the auslaut of a foot. A break after the penultimate syllable of the foot has a tendency to render less objectionable a break after the auslaut. Consequently, *c* and *e* are less objectionable than *d*; and *g* less objectionable than *f*.



way they are disguised when they do occur. In III, 29, 5, the first of the pair exists only so far as results from an elided trisyllable. In I, 16, 21, the pair arises from two elided trisyllables. The verse has no break after the fifth space. In I, 37, 5, the first of the pair arises from a trisyllable affected by synizesis. This verse also omits the usual break after the fifth space. In short, no real case of two dissyllabic words beginning a verse is found. This is strong evidence of an iambic movement. Pointing in the same direction is the fact that cases under  $\epsilon$  outnumber those under  $\zeta$  and  $\eta$ .

*Fifth Space.* (= ---) In 629 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by :

$\alpha$	<i>pentasyllable</i> .....	21 times
$\beta$	<i>quadrisyllable monosyllable</i> .....	4 times
$\gamma$	<i>monosyllable quadrisyllable</i> .....	42 times
$\delta$	<i>trisyllable dissyllable</i> .....	176 times
$\epsilon$	<i>dissyllable trisyllable</i> .....	175 times
$\zeta$	<i>trisyllable monosyllable monosyllable</i> .....	20 times
$\eta$	<i>monosyllable trisyllable monosyllable</i> .....	10 times
$\theta$	<i>monosyllable monosyllable trisyllable</i> .....	66 times
$\iota$	<i>dissyllable dissyllable monosyllable</i> .....	1 time
$\kappa$	<i>dissyllable monosyllable dissyllable</i> .....	33 times
$\lambda$	<i>monosyllable dissyllable dissyllable</i> .....	58 times
$\mu$	<i>dissyllable monosyllable monosyllable monosyllable</i> .....	0 times
$\nu$	<i>monosyllable dissyllable monosyllable monosyllable</i> .....	9 times
$\xi$	<i>monosyllable monosyllable dissyllable monosyllable</i> .....	5 times
$\omicron$	<i>monosyllable monosyllable monosyllable dissyllable</i> .....	9 times
$\pi$	<i>five monosyllables</i> .....	0 times

That verse *A* begins with iambic meter is evidenced by the character of the monosyllables falling in the fifth space. Table IV shows 49 such cases. The resulting break after the fourth space is generally bridged over and softened by some of the following usages: (*a*) In twelve cases elision takes place, being located as in the following example:

dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.

(III, 2, 13.)

(b) In twenty-nine cases the break in question is concealed by another break after the third space. Thus the metrical phrase closes with two monosyllables. One of them is not infrequently a proclitic or an enclitic, which also serves to lessen the prominence of the break after the fourth space, as in

ducentis *ad se* cuncta pecuniae.

(IV, 9, 38.)

(c) Only a few cases remain, and in some of them the monosyllable and the preceding word are closely knit together, as in

iamdudum *apud me est*. eripe te morae.

(III, 29, 5.)

Again, significant of iambic meter is the fact that cases under  $\gamma$  so greatly outnumber those under  $\beta$ ; that  $\theta$  outnumbers  $\zeta$ ; that  $\zeta$  outnumbers  $\eta$ ; that  $\lambda$  outnumbers  $\kappa$ ; that  $\nu$  and  $\sigma$  outnumber  $\iota$  and  $\xi$ ; that  $\delta$  and  $\epsilon$  are strongly in favor.

If the first phrase of *A* (five syllables) is compared with what precedes the main caesura in the iambic trimeter of Horace's Epodes (normally five syllables), the words occurring in one case will be found to accord with those in the other as regards their form, length, and arrangement. This is well illustrated by Epode III, where the word-arrangements in verses free from substitutions are typically:

- - - | - -  
 - - | - - -  
 - | - - - -  
 - | - | - - -  
 - | - - | - -  
 - | - | - | - -

(7) The following points are to be noted for the light they throw on the nature of the rhythm in the second phrase of *A*:

(a) Breaks within the phrase occur freely after the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth spaces, most freely, however, after the eighth. (Table I.)

(b) The favorite combinations of words within the phrase are, in order of preference, as follows:

*trisyllable trisyllable,*  
*monosyllable trisyllable dissyllable,*  
*monosyllable dissyllable trisyllable,*  
*quadrisyllable dissyllable,*  
*dissyllable quadrisyllable.*

(Table III.)

(c) Monosyllables are abundant in the sixth space alone. Only seven times does a verse end with a monosyllable and in six of these cases the effect is veiled. That is to say, in II, 11, 13, the monosyllable is preceded by another monosyllable, as sometimes occurs at the close of the dactylic hexameter or pentameter. In I, 9, 13; II, 15, 5; III, 26, 9; 29, 9; and 49 there is elision. But in IV, 9, 1, the monosyllable stands out boldly after a pentasyllable, an effect that is probably intended to reinforce the striking character of the thought.

(d) Dissyllables end freely in the seventh or eleventh space.

(e) Trisyllables end freely in the eighth or eleventh space.

(f) Quadrisyllables end freely in the ninth or eleventh space.

(g) Pentasyllables and hexasyllables occur occasionally at the close of the verse.

The conclusion to be drawn from this evidence is as follows: The poet's feeling has not led him to treat the second phrase in the same manner as he did the first. He has not here studiously avoided the coincident termination of word and foot, since breaks occur freely at all points, except after the tenth space, an exception due to the fact that monosyllables are not welcome in final position.

(8) We are now in a position to make out the meter of the whole verse. As regards the first phrase, it has been shown that words are frequently chosen and arranged according to the following divisions:

— — — | — —  
 — — | — — —  
 — | — | — — —  
 — | — — | — —  
 — | — — — —

We rarely find:

— — | — — | —  
 — — — — | —

The meter, therefore, is iambic in character. But what is the particular form of the feet? Do the first four syllables constitute two iambs or one diiamb? If these syllables appeared characteristically as  $\sim - \sim -$  there would be ground for recognizing two iambs, but as a matter of fact they are normally  $- - \sim -$  (only nineteen verses begin  $\sim - \sim -$ ) and the conclusion is inevitable that *A* begins with a diiamb.

A verse by its very nature has unity, which implies that it embraces homogeneous elements. Therefore, since the first phrase of *A* contains a diiamb plus one syllable, it is probable that this syllable introduces a second metrical division, not necessarily identical with the first, but similar in kind and commensurate in duration. Keeping in mind that a diiamb is quadrisyllabic and in effect hexasemic, we find that a foot having these two properties is made up by the syllables in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth spaces. Moreover, it assumes the form of a foot to which ancient writers on metric frequently refer, namely, a major ionic ( $- - - \sim$ ).

Three syllables remain, *long short long*, respectively, and they in turn answer the conditions of a quadrisyllabic hexasemic foot, one, however, that has been modified by catalexis in the final cadence of the verse. In acatalectic form this foot would apparently be a ditrochee, as may be gathered from the *Twelve-Syllable Alcaic* cited by Hephaestion (*Ench.*, XIV, 4, C.):

$\sim - - - , - - - \sim , - - - \sim$   
*ἰόπλοκ', ἀγνά, μελλιχόμειδε Σαπφοῖ.*

With this verse (= Alcaeus fr. 34) compare:

*θέλω τι ρεῖπην, ἀλλά με κωλύει αἶδως.* Alcaeus fr. 19.

*κοιλωνύχων ἵππων πρύτανις* [Ποσειδάν]. Stesichorus fr. 21.

Verse *A*, then, may be classed as an Epionic Trimeter Catalectic and is to be represented thus:

$\sim - - - , - || - - - , - - \sim$

a reader being always at liberty to treat the last foot as  $- \sim - \sim$ .

This conclusion is not only supported by ancient authority,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Hephaestion (*Ench.* XIV, 3, C.) describes *A* in its Greek form as follows: 'Ἐπιωνικὸν δὲ ἀπὸ μείζονος τρίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἐστὶ, τὸ καλούμενον Ἀλκαϊκὸν ἐνδεκασύλλαβον, ὃ τὴν μὲν πρώτην συζυγίαν ἔχει ἰαμβικὴν, ἥτοι ἐξάσημον ἢ ἐπτάσημον, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ἰωνικὴν ἀπὸ μείζονος ἢ δευτέραν παιωνικὴν, τὴν δὲ κατὰ κλειδα ἐκ τροχαίου καὶ τῆς ἀδιαφόρου.

but corroborated by numerous parallels in allied verse forms; for example, the initial motive<sup>6</sup> - - - - - is found in Pindar, *Nemæa*, I, str. 2 and 4; V, str. 5; *Isth.*, I, str. 5; VI, str. 1; fr. 29, 1; fr. 122, 1; fr. 124<sup>c</sup>, 1; Bacchylides, VIII, ep. 1; XI, 1 and 8; XIV, ep. 1; *et passim*. The final motive - - - - - is also abundant; see for example Christ, *Metrik*, section 627. This motive in acatalectic form is found in Sappho, fr. 50; Pindar, fr. 75, 4; Eurip., *Medea*, 151-3; and elsewhere.

#### B. THE NINE-SYLLABLE ALCAIC.

(1) There are 256 possible ways of arranging words in a verse of nine syllables. In this Alcaic, however, Horace employed only 48, confining himself as a rule to the 10 following:

1. cantemus Augusti tropaea .....	(60 cases)
2. rugis et instanti senectae .....	(26 cases)
3. cui laurus aeternos honores .....	(26 cases)
4. redegit in veros timores .....	(21 cases)
5. oblitus aeternaeque Vestae .....	(20 cases)
6. quantis fatigaret ruinis .....	(17 cases)
7. exceptit ictus pro pudicis .....	(15 cases)
8. non Seres infidive Persae .....	(13 cases)
9. sortitur insignis et imos .....	(12 cases)
10. sumptu iuvenes et deorum .....	( 8 cases)

(2) The metrical character of this verse is revealed in what follows:

*First Space.* In 84 verses the initial word is a *monosyllable*. Horace departed from his Greek models by putting a long syllable almost always in this space. See Table VII.

*Second Space.* (= -) In 83 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by:

α <i>dissyllable</i> .....	75 times
β <i>monosyllable monosyllable</i> .....	8 times

*Third Space.* (= - -) In 259 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by:

α <i>trisyllable</i> .....	155 times
β <i>monosyllable dissyllable</i> .....	65 times
γ <i>dissyllable monosyllable</i> .....	35 times
δ <i>three monosyllables</i> .....	4 times

<sup>6</sup> This term *motive* is used to designate any dominant metrical design or sequence.

Evidences of iambic movement are seen in the sequence of quantities, the great frequency of breaks after the third space, the frequency of trisyllables as shown in  $\alpha$ , and the fact that  $\beta$  outnumbered  $\gamma$ .

*Fourth Space.* ( $\approx - - -$ ) In 51 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by :

$\alpha$	quadrisyllable .....	0 times
$\beta$	trisyllable monosyllable .....	34 times
$\gamma$	monosyllable trisyllable .....	2 times
$\delta$	dissyllable dissyllable .....	0 times
$\epsilon$	monosyllable dissyllable monosyllable .....	13 times
$\zeta$	monosyllable monosyllable dissyllable .....	0 times
$\eta$	dissyllable monosyllable monosyllable .....	2 times
$\theta$	four monosyllables .....	0 times

Evidences of iambic movement are seen in the sequence of quantities, the infrequency of breaks after the fourth space, the facts under  $\alpha$  and  $\delta$ , the way  $\beta$  outnumbered  $\gamma$ , and the way  $\epsilon$  outnumbered  $\zeta$ .

*Fifth Space.* ( $\approx - - - -$ ) In 52 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by :

$\alpha$	pentasyllable .....	3 times
$\beta$	monosyllable quadrisyllable .....	5 times
$\gamma$	quadrisyllable monosyllable .....	0 times
$\delta$	trisyllable dissyllable .....	23 times
$\epsilon$	dissyllable trisyllable .....	12 times
$\zeta$	monosyllable monosyllable trisyllable .....	1 time
$\eta$	trisyllable monosyllable monosyllable .....	0 times
$\theta$	monosyllable trisyllable monosyllable .....	1 time
$\iota$	monosyllable dissyllable dissyllable .....	5 times
$\kappa$	dissyllable monosyllable dissyllable .....	1 time
$\lambda$	dissyllable dissyllable monosyllable .....	0 times
$\mu$	dissyllable monosyllable monosyllable monosyllable .....	0 times
$\nu$	monosyllable dissyllable monosyllable monosyllable .....	0 times
$\xi$	monosyllable monosyllable dissyllable monosyllable .....	0 times
$\omicron$	monosyllable monosyllable monosyllable dissyllable .....	1 time
$\pi$	five monosyllables .....	0 times

Evidences of iambic movement are seen in a comparison of  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ , of  $\delta$  and  $\epsilon$ , and of  $\iota$ ,  $\kappa$ , and  $\lambda$ . The relatively small number

of breaks after the fifth space makes it clear that this verse is not divided into set phrases of sound. Thus *B*, though beginning with the same quantities as *A*, has a different opening cadence. Kiessling pointed out that when a word ends in the fifth space, the effect of the break is generally subdued by the presence of a monosyllable in the sixth space. This feature affords a good example of the way Horace's art underwent change. In Book I four verses have a word ending in the fifth space without a following monosyllable (16, 3; 26, 7; 29, 11; 35, 11). In Book II there are seven such verses (1, 11; 3, 3; 13, 27; 14, 11; 19, 7; 19, 11; 19, 19). In Books III and IV they disappear altogether. Since words seldom end in the fourth or fifth space, a monosyllable is not likely to occur often in the fifth space. Only one example is found, namely *et* in II, 3, 27, and this is neutralized by elision. Owing to the general avoidance of words ending in the fifth space, only two verses end with a quadrisyllable (II, 3, 3; 19, 19) and only eight end with two dissyllables (I, 16, 3; 26, 7; 29, 11; II, 1, 11; 13, 27; 14, 11; 19, 7; 19, 11). It is an interesting fact, as Mr. Page points out, that in six of these cases the first dissyllable of the pair is repeated at the outset of the succeeding verse. For example:

Alcaee, plectro *dura* navis,  
*dura* fugae mala, *dura* belli.

(II, 13, 27-28.)

Horace departed from his Greek models by putting invariably a long syllable in the fifth space.

*Sixth Space.* (≈ - - - -) In 251 verses a break occurs after this space, a mark of iambic movement, for toward the close of such a verse the usages of diaeresis and caesura undergo a change, breaks after the even syllables becoming numerous.

The favorite combinations of words at the close of a verse are, in order of preference:

*trisyllable trisyllable,*  
*monosyllable dissyllable,*  
*monosyllable trisyllable.*

(Table III.)

Words of more than three syllables occurring in this verse are interesting as regards both their rarity and their position. Only one hexasyllable occurs and that ends in the seventh space. Among 11 pentasyllables, 3 end in the fifth space, 3 in the sixth, and 5 in the seventh. Among 69 quadrisyllables, 5 end in the fifth space, 26 in the sixth, 36 in the seventh, and 2 in the ninth. Thus these polysyllables tend to occur in the middle of the verse.

(3) By a process of reasoning similar to that followed on p. 177 ff., it appears that Horace felt the rhythm of the first four syllables as a foot in the shape of a diiamb. Especially significant is the fact that not a single verse has a word ending in the fourth space unless it be a monosyllable or trisyllable. The next four syllables also conform to a diiamb.

This foot, it should be remembered, occurs in Alcaeus and Sappho both as  $-\text{ }-\text{ }-\text{ }-$  and  $\sim\text{ }-\text{ }-\text{ }-$ . The extreme rarity of the latter form in Horace's alcaic strophe may be due to the abundance of long syllables in Latin, to the fact that this form by itself is metrically ambiguous, being either a quadrisyllabic foot or two dissyllabic feet, and to the fact that the *gravitas Romana* with which Horace invested his Odes is better served by the form of the diiamb containing three long syllables. In reading the foot  $-\text{ }-\text{ }-\text{ }-$  it does not stand to reason that the ancients consciously shortened the initial syllable. Any positive reduction in length at this point would often confuse the sense. For example, shortening the initial syllable of *cănēs* ('thou art hoary'), which might conceivably be the word concerned, would result in *cănēs* ('dogs'). The same applies to scores of words subject to a similar change of meaning, should the first syllable be shortened. The fact that  $-\text{ }-\text{ }-\text{ }-$  is in effect a hexasemic foot is rather to be explained on other grounds. To be sure, this diiamb, when exactly measured, seems to be overlong to the extent of a *mora*; but since the overlength is in the first syllable of the foot, and since the compass of the foot is large, the excess is neither enough nor in a position to unbalance the rhythm. Compare in this connection the ditrochee, which is also hexasemic in effect and frequently has three long syllables ( $-\text{ }-\text{ }-\text{ }-$ ), thus being overlong in the last syllable of the foot.



The final syllable of this verse remains to be accounted for. According to some scholars (Masqueray: *Métrique*, section 276. Gleditsch: section 150. 3), *B* and *C* of the Greek Alcæic strophe are held to be in effect one long verse. However that may be, Horace certainly felt *B* and *C* as separate verses, as is shown by the fact that he admitted *syllaba anceps* at the close of *B*, as well as interverse hiatus between *B* and *C* (Table V). According to O. Schroeder (*Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1904. Nr. 51), *B* is an iambic pentapody (*Fünfheber*), the final syllable representing an iamb.

The conclusions reached in this paper support the view held by Kiessling and many others, namely, that *B* is hypercatalectic. The transition from the ascending rhythm of this verse to the descending rhythm of *C* is facilitated by the extra syllable, just as is the case in the following examples:

<p> <math>\text{---}, \text{---}</math>  <math>\text{---}, \text{---}</math> </p>	Bacchyl. VII, b. 14-15. Cf. XI. 2-3.
<p> <math>\text{---}, \text{---}</math>  <math>\text{---}, \text{---}</math>  <math>\text{---}, \text{---}</math> </p>	" XII, str. 2-4. Cf. ep. 3-4.
<p> <math>\text{---}, \text{---}, \text{---}</math>  <math>\text{---}, \text{---}</math> </p>	" XVIII, str. 1-2.
<p> <math>\text{---}, \text{---}, \text{---}</math>  <math>\text{---}, \text{---}, \text{---}</math> </p>	" XIII, ep. 6-7.
<p> <math>\text{---}, \text{---}, \text{---}</math>  <math>\text{---}, \text{---}, \text{---}</math> </p>	" VIII, str. 8-9. Cf. ep. 3-4.

Especially significant are the following:

<p> <math>\text{---}, \text{---}, \text{---}, \text{---}</math>  <math>\text{---}, \text{---}, \text{---}</math>  <math>\text{---}, \text{---}, \text{---}</math> </p>	<p>           Bacchyl. XIV, str. 3-5.            Cf. Pindar, fr. 124<sup>c</sup>, 1-2; fr. 126, 1-2.         </p>
<p> <math>\text{---}, \text{---}, \text{---}, \text{---}</math>  <math>\text{---}, \text{---}, \text{---}</math>  <math>\text{---}, \text{---}, \text{---}</math> </p>	<p>           Bacchyl. XIV, ep. 1-3.            Cf. Pindar, fr. 122, 1-3.         </p>

In the last example line 1 nearly equals *A*, line 2 equals *B*, line 3 is like *C* in having a descending rhythm part of which is trochaic. It seems fair to say that line 2 (which equals *B*) is an Iambic Dimeter Hypercatalectic (not a pentapody), since the next to the

last example clearly shows that a dimeter may legitimately occur in this metrical context.

Verse *B*, then, may be classed as an Iambic Dimeter Hypercatalectic and is to be represented thus:

— — — — —, — — — — —, —

### C. THE TEN-SYLLABLE ALCAIC.

(1) There are 512 possible ways of arranging words in a verse of ten syllables. In this Alcaic the poet employed but 51, confining himself as a rule to the 10 following:

1. egit equos volucremque currum .....	(49 cases)
2. divitiis potietur heres .....	(36 cases)
3. vis rapuit rapietque gentis .....	(33 cases)
4. purpureo varius colore .....	(27 cases)
5. levia personuere saxa .....	(18 cases)
6. Pegasus expedit Chimaera .....	(16 cases)
7. fronde nova puerum palumbes .....	(13 cases)
8. Delius et Patareus Apollo .....	(13 cases)
9. pomifero grave tempus anno .....	(13 cases)
10. in domini caput inmerentis .....	(11 cases)

(2) The metrical character of this verse is revealed in the following analysis:

*First Space.* In 69 verses this space is occupied by a *monosyllable*.

*Second Space.* (— —) In 101 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by:

<i>α</i> dissyllable .....	99 times
<i>β</i> monosyllable monosyllable .....	2 times

*Third Space.* (— — —) In 79 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by:

<i>α</i> trisyllable .....	60 times
<i>β</i> monosyllable dissyllable .....	9 times
<i>γ</i> dissyllable monosyllable .....	10 times
<i>δ</i> three monosyllables .....	0 times

Dactylic meter is here suggested, for an initial trisyllable occurs less frequently than an initial dissyllable (99 cases) (compare *A* and *B*), and *β* and *γ* enjoy virtually equal favor (compare *A* and *B*).

**Fourth Space.** (— — —) In 252 verses a break occurs after this space. It is preceded by :

$\alpha$	<i>quadrisyllable</i> .....	87 times
$\beta$	<i>dissyllable dissyllable</i> .....	81 times
$\gamma$	<i>monosyllable trisyllable</i> .....	55 times
$\delta$	<i>trisyllable monosyllable</i> .....	20 times
$\epsilon$	other combinations .....	9 times

The unequal favor enjoyed by  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  points to dactylic meter.

**Fifth Space.** (— — — —) In 14 verses a break occurs after this space. It is preceded by *trisyllable dissyllable* four times. A break after the fifth space falls between two short syllables and is so situated in the verse as to produce a weak effect, which seems to account for its infrequency.

**Sixth Space.** (— — — — —) In 52 verses a break occurs after this space. It is never preceded by *hexasyllable*, and by *trisyllable trisyllable* but once, namely, in IV, 4, 72, where the second trisyllable exists only so far as arises from an elided quadrisyllable. This is strong evidence of dactylic meter.

**Seventh Space.** (— — — — — —) In 112 verses a break occurs after this space. It is never preceded by either *trisyllable trisyllable monosyllable* or *hexasyllable monosyllable*, which points to dactylic meter. The general conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing points is that Horace felt the first six syllables of *C* as two dactylic feet. Since words are seldom allowed to end in the fifth or sixth space, polysyllables are barred, as a rule, from beginning in the sixth or seventh space and, therefore, tend to gravitate to the initial or middle parts of the verse.

The usual combinations of words at the close of the verse are, in order of preference :

<i>quadrisyllable dissyllable,</i>	
<i>trisyllable trisyllable,</i>	
<i>dissyllable dissyllable,</i>	
<i>quadrisyllable trisyllable.</i>	(Table III.)

(3) We are now in a position to identify the meter throughout the whole verse. Hephaestion (quoted by Gleditsch, p. 173 ff.) applies the term *logaoedic* to dactylic or anapaestic verses in whose initial or final parts (or both) the *arses* consist, not of pairs of short syllables, but of single short ones. He cites *C* as an ex-

ample (*Ench.*, VII, 8, C.). By reading the dactylic dipody with a more rapid *tempo* than is given the final ditrochee the time relations of the verse are as a whole kept true (see Westphal: *Allg. Metrik d. Gr.*, III, 1, p. 366; Masqueray: p. 328; Gleditsch: section 142). Compare in this connection the substituted anapaests and dactyls in Horace's Epodes; these feet, which are ordinarily tetrasemic, are there given trisemic values. Further light is thrown on the metrical structure of *C* by the following verses, some of which are logaoedic and some trochaic:

α {	-----	Hybrias ( <i>Anth. Lyr.</i> p. 275).
β	-----	Bacchyl. fr. 20, str. 2; cf. XV, str. 4.
γ	-----	Simonides, fr. 57.
δ	-----	Aristoteles, fr. 5, 15.
ε	-----	Simonides, fr. 30.
ζ	-----	Praxilla, fr. 5; cf. Bacchyl. XV, str. 5.
η	----- ----- ----- ----- -----	
	{----- ----- -----	Aleman, fr. 5, str. 9-14.

Here --- and -- seem to be made equivalent in time value. This is especially evident in the alternative forms of the same verse (included within braces). Examples α-γ end somewhat like *C*, δ-ζ quite in its manner. A line having the exact form of *C* concludes three of the strophes in Aleman, fr. 5; it occurs also in Ibycus, fr. 1, 9; 8c, 1; 8e, 1; 13, 4; 15, 2; Bacchyl., IV, str. 6; and eighteen passages of Greek dramatic poetry cited by W. Christ: *Grundfragen der melischen Metrik der Griechen*, Abhandl. der Akad. der Wissensch., Philos.-philol. Cl., München, 1902, 270f. It is found to follow iambic and other kinds of verses; not infrequently it is used to conclude a strophe. Since strophes having a distinct kind of verse as *clausula* are abundant, nothing stands in the way of our taking *C* as a logaoedic verse in the shape of a

dactylic dipody followed by a ditrochee. It may be termed a Dactylotrochaic Dimeter,<sup>7</sup> being represented thus:

— ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —

#### THE STROPHE AS A WHOLE.

The poet's feeling for the strophe as a whole is reflected in the following points:

(1) Elision occurs 69 times in the first verse of the strophe, 59 times in the second, 38 times in the third, and 31 times in the final verse. Interverse elision occurs twice (II, 3, 27-28; III, 29, 35-36).

(2) Since interverse hiatus works against the unity and even flow of the strophe, we should expect to find it occurring less and less often as Horace's art develops. Such turns out to be the fact, as appears in Table V.

(3) Sense-pauses are numerous within the first verse of the strophe, still more so in the second, infrequent in the third, and rare in the fourth. The majority are not coincident with the main rhythmical pauses, the sense being made to run on from verse to verse, and strophe to strophe.

(4) Long words tend to occur in the latter part of *A*, but in the middle of *B* and of *C*. Furthermore, as regards word-lengths and combinations of words, Tables II and III show that (1) each verse has different habits of beginning and ending (the extremes of *B*, however, do not differ greatly); (2) *A* has characteristic ways of beginning, *B* has others, *C* still others; (3) much the same may be said of their closing, the final effects of the *clausula*, however, being especially well differentiated from those of the other verses.

(5) We may here consider the question whether the Alcaic strophe of Book IV differs materially from that of Horace's earlier work. A comparison shows results somewhat as follows: Type 1, as recorded on p. 176, occurs in Book IV ten times, type 2 eleven times, type 3 once, type 4 not at all, type 5 twice, type 6 once, type 7 six times. In short, it turns out that certain forms

<sup>7</sup> Justification for bringing two dactyls within one *meter* is found in Gleditsch: section 65, 1, *fin*.

of verse abundantly represented in Books I-III are relatively much less frequent in Book IV, and *vice versa*, the general result being that in the poet's later work the range of lyric effects is somewhat narrower. The bold and exceptional features of the strophe, cited *passim* in the foregoing pages, point to the same conclusion, since they are in large measure confined to Books I-III. Light is sometimes thrown on the date of an Ode's composition by tests along these lines.

(6) The location of the ictus is a matter not so easily determined as the form of the feet. However, we seem to be warranted in holding that an ictus belonged to each foot, and that if it belonged to the first half of a given foot, it belonged to the same half of all the feet alike. An ictus hardly belonged to the final two syllables of the major ionic (— — —) or the dactylic dipody (— — — —). This leads one to infer that in each foot the ictus belonged to the first half. The interpretation of the *Seikilos* inscription and Anonymus Bellermannius, section 85, given by F. Blass (*Hermes*, 35 [1900], 342; *Neue Jahrb. klass. Altertum*, 3 [1899], 42) points to the first half of a diiamb as the place of the ictus.

(7) The strophe as a whole may be represented, from the standpoint of reading, thus:

*A* ≈ ˘ — —, — || ˘ — —, ˘ — ≈ ^

*A* ≈ ˘ — —, — || ˘ — —, ˘ — ≈ ^

*B* ≈ ˘ — —, — ˘ — —, ≈

*C* ˘ — — — —, ˘ — — ≈

TABLE 1.

The number of times that a word ends at any given point in the strophe is shown in the following table. For example, among the 634 verses included under *A*, 199 begin with a monosyllable, 291 are so composed that a word ends with the second space, 308 with the third space, and so on.

	1st space	2nd space	3rd space	4th space	5th space	6th space	7th space	8th space	9th space	10th space	11th space
A....	199	291	308	53	629	202	144	346	242	7	634
B....	84	83	259	51	52	251	102	10	317	.....	.....
C....	69	101	79	252	14	52	112	199	0	317	.....

Elided syllables are neglected, *sententia*, for example, with *a* elided, being counted as a trisyllable. The enclitics *-que*, *-ve*, *-ne* are not treated as separate words, *inversique* being counted as a quadrisyllable. Other enclitics and proclitics appear separately in the tables, owing to the difficulty of establishing a clear line of demarcation between these words and those that are really independent. But in drawing inferences concerning metrical structure the character of the words involved has, wherever possible, been taken into account.

The Kiessling text of Horace (edition of 1890) is the basis of these investigations. Pindar is cited according to the edition of Schroeder 1900, Bacchylides according to the edition of Blass 1905, other Greek lyric poets according to the Hiller-Crusius edition of Bergk's *Anthologia Lyrica* 1901.

TABLE II.

Summary of word-lengths at the beginning of all four verses.

	In <i>A</i>	In <i>B</i>	In <i>C</i>	
1	80	8	2	verses begin: 'monosyllable monosyllable.'
2	67	65	9	verses begin: 'monosyllable dissyllable.'
3	10	2	55	verses begin: 'monosyllable trisyllable.'
4	42	5	2	verses begin: 'monosyllable quadrisyllable.'
5	0	3	0	verses begin: 'monosyllable pentasyllable.'
6	0	1	1	verses begin: 'monosyllable hexasyllable.'
7	33	35	10	verses begin: 'dissyllable monosyllable.'
8	3	0	81	verses begin: 'dissyllable dissyllable.'
9	175	12	1	verses begin: 'dissyllable trisyllable.'
10	0	23	0	verses begin: 'dissyllable quadrisyllable.'
11	0	5	4	verses begin: 'dissyllable pentasyllable.'
12	0	0	3	verses begin: 'dissyllable hexasyllable.'
13	22	34	20	verses begin: 'trisyllable monosyllable.'
14	176	23	4	verses begin: 'trisyllable dissyllable.'
15	1	77	1	verses begin: 'trisyllable trisyllable.'
16	0	21	17	verses begin: 'trisyllable quadrisyllable.'
17	0	0	18	verses begin: 'trisyllable pentasyllable.'
18	4	0	3	verses begin: 'quadrisyllable monosyllable.'
19	0	0	17	verses begin: 'quadrisyllable dissyllable.'
20	0	0	29	verses begin: 'quadrisyllable trisyllable.'
21	0	0	36	verses begin: 'quadrisyllable quadrisyllable.'
22	0	0	0	verses begin: 'quadrisyllable pentasyllable.'
23	0	0	2	verses begin: 'quadrisyllable hexasyllable.'
24	9	2	0	verses begin: 'pentasyllable monosyllable.'
25	6	1	2	verses begin: 'pentasyllable dissyllable.'
26	3	0	0	verses begin: 'pentasyllable trisyllable.'
27	2	0	0	verses begin: 'pentasyllable quadrisyllable.'
28	0	0	0	verses begin: 'pentasyllable pentasyllable.'
29	1	0	0	verses begin: 'pentasyllable hexasyllable.'
	<hr/> 634	<hr/> 317	<hr/> 317	



TABLE III.

Summary of word-lengths in the concluding portions of all four verses.

	In A	In B	In C	
1	2	2	0	verses end: 'monosyllable monosyllable.'
2	52	39	9	verses end: 'monosyllable dissyllable.'
3	44	36	5	verses end: 'monosyllable trisyllable.'
4	2	0	0	verses end: 'monosyllable quadrisyllable.'
5	19	0	0	verses end: 'monosyllable pentasyllable.'
6	2	7	0	verses end: 'dissyllable monosyllable.'
7	32	8	34	verses end: 'dissyllable dissyllable.'
8	76	31	8	verses end: 'dissyllable trisyllable.'
9	63	0	12	verses end: 'dissyllable quadrisyllable.'
10	0	0	0	verses end: 'dissyllable pentasyllable.'
11	3	0	0	verses end: 'dissyllable hexasyllable.'
12	1	1	0	verses end: 'trisyllable monosyllable.'
13	82	12	5	verses end: 'trisyllable dissyllable.'
14	170	115	64	verses end: 'trisyllable trisyllable.'
15	0	1	1	verses end: 'trisyllable quadrisyllable.'
16	1	0	0	verses end: 'trisyllable pentasyllable.'
17	3	0	0	verses end: 'trisyllable hexasyllable.'
18	1	0	0	verses end: 'quadrisyllable monosyllable.'
19	73	35	127	verses end: 'quadrisyllable dissyllable.'
20	3	20	22	verses end: 'quadrisyllable trisyllable.'
21	0	1	0	verses end: 'quadrisyllable quadrisyllable.'
22	0	0	0	verses end: 'quadrisyllable pentasyllable.'
23	2	0	2	verses end: 'quadrisyllable hexasyllable.'
24	1	0	0	verses end: 'pentasyllable monosyllable.'
25	1	5	21	verses end: 'pentasyllable dissyllable.'
26	0	3	3	verses end: 'pentasyllable trisyllable.'
27	1	0	0	verses end: 'pentasyllable hexasyllable.'
28	0	0	0	verses end: 'hexasyllable monosyllable.'
29	0	1	3	verses end: 'hexasyllable dissyllable.'
30	0	0	1	verses end: 'hexasyllable trisyllable.'
	<hr/> 634	<hr/> 317	<hr/> 317	

TABLE IV.

This table takes account of all words found in Horace's Alcaic strophe, showing their length in terms of syllables, their relative frequency, and the places of the verse in which they end. The table is to be read as follows: 199 monosyllables stand in the first space of *A*; 211 dissyllables end in the second space of *A*; 60 trisyllables end in the third space of *C*; and so on.

		1st space	2nd space	3rd space	4th space	5th space	6th space	7th space	8th space	9th space	10th space	11th space	Total
Monosyllables in	<i>A</i> :	199	80	42	31	49*	201	4	45	52	2	7†	712
	<i>B</i> :	84	8	39	49	1‡	41	39	2	10			273
	<i>C</i> :	69	2	10	27	4	1	5	9				127
Dissyllables in	<i>A</i> :		211	67	8	276		140	94	33	2	240	1071
	<i>B</i> :		75	65		30	37	8	7	100			322
	<i>C</i> :		99	9	83	5	49	8	34		189		476
Trisyllables in	<i>A</i> :			199	10	241	1		205	83	1	293	1033
	<i>B</i> :			155	2	13	144	13	1	205			533
	<i>C</i> :			60	55	1	2	70	5		103		296
Quadrisyllables in	<i>A</i> :				4	42			3	73	1	65	181
	<i>B</i> :					5	26	36		2			69
	<i>C</i> :				87	2	23	127			13		232
Pentasyllables in	<i>A</i> :					21				1	1	20	43
	<i>B</i> :					3	3	5					11
	<i>C</i> :					2		4	21				27
Hexasyllables in	<i>A</i> :											9	9
	<i>B</i> :							1					1
	<i>C</i> :							1	3		2		6

\* Of these 12 are preceded by elision (2 in Book I, 2 in Book II, and 8 in Book III) and 3 arise from elided dissyllables.

† All preceded by elision, except two.

‡ Preceded by elision.

TABLE V.

Interverse hiatus occurs fifty times, as shown in the following enumeration. Cases falling between verse *C* and verse *A* are enclosed within parentheses, being less objectionable than those within a single strophe; cases involving an exclamative monosyllable, likewise little objectionable, are marked with an asterisk.

I, 9, 7* ; 14.	
I, 16, (16) ; 27.	
I, 17, 6 ; 13 ; (16) ; 25.	
I, 26. None.	
I, 27. None.	
I, 29. None.	
I, 31, 5 ; 14.	
I, 34. None.	
I, 35, 9 ; (12) ; (32) ; 38.	
I, 37, 11.	
II, 1, (12).	
II, 3, (12) ; (24).	
II, 5, 9.	
II, 7. None.	
II, 9, 3 ; (12).	
II, 11. None.	
II, 13, (4) ; 7 ; (8) ; 11 ; 21 ; 26 ; (28).	
II, 14, 3.	
II, 15. None.	
II, 17, (4*) ; (20).	
II, 19, 31.	
II, 20. None.	
III, 1. None.	
III, 2, 17 ; (24).	
III, 3, (8) ; (40).	
III, 4, (4) ; (16) ; (28) ; (72) ; (76).	
III, 5, 10 ; 11 ; (12) ; (24) ; (36) ; 46.	
III, 6. None.	
III, 17. None.	
III, 21. None.	
III, 23, (16).	
III, 26. None.	
III, 29. None.	
IV, 4, (4).	
IV, 9. None.	
IV, 14. None.	
IV, 15, 10.	
	Total:
	11 cases within strophes.
	4 cases between strophes.
	Total:
	8 cases within strophes.
	9 cases between strophes.
	Total:
	4 cases within strophes.
	12 cases between strophes.
	Total:
	1 case within a strophe.
	1 case between strophes.

Many instances of interverse hiatus in a poem indicate immaturity in the poet's art, intractability of material, or conditions of composition some way unfavorable. Ode II, 13, for example, shows not only seven cases of interverse hiatus but the following unusual points: Verse 22 (*A*) has a form not found elsewhere in Horace; that of verse 33 (*A*) occurs again only in II, 7, 13; that of verse 14 (*A*) occurs again only in I, 34, 10, and III, 4, 17; that of verse 27 (*B*) is unique; that of verse 19 (*B*) occurs again only in III, 6, 11; that of verse 8 (*C*) is unique; that of verse 12 occurs again only in I, 9, 24.

TABLE VI.

Features of rare occurrence may by their very rarity throw light on the nature of the verse. One may thus see what the poet generally avoids and, by contrast, what he seeks. The following verses of Horace are each unique as regards arrangement of caesuras and diaereses. Rightly interpreted they form a sort of *Alcaic antibarbarus*.

I, 9, 8	O Thaliarche merum diota.	(C)
I, 9, 13	quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere et.	(A)
I, 16, 24	fervor et in celeres iambos.	(C)
I, 17, 14	et musa cordi est. hic tibi copia.	(A)
I, 26, 11	hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro.	(B)
I, 26, 12	teque tuasque decet sorores.	(C)
I, 27, 14	mercede. quae te cumque domat Venus.	(A)
I, 29	None.	
I, 31, 13	dis carus ipsis, quippe ter et quater.	(A)
I, 31, 16	me cichorea levesque malvae.	(C)
I, 34, 10	quo Styx et invisi horrida Taenari.	(A)
I, 35, 11	regumque matres barbarorum et.	(B)
I, 35, 21	te Spes et albo rara Fides colit.	(A)
I, 35, 39	incude diffingas retusum in.	(B)
I, 37, 6	cellis avitis dum Capitolio.	(A)
I, 37, 14	mentemque lymphatam Mareotico.	(A)
I, 37, 20	Haemoniae daret ut catenis.	(C)
II, 1, 4	principum amicitias et arma.	(C)
II, 1, 11	res ordinariae grande munus	(B)
II, 1, 35	non decoloravere caedes.	(B)
II, 1, 36	quae caret ora cruore nostro.	(C)
II, 3, 3	ab insolenti temperatam.	(B)
II, 3, 13	huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis.	(A)
II, 3, 15	dum res et aetas et sororum.	(B)
II, 3, 22	nil interest an pauper et infima.	(A)
II, 3, 27	sors exitura et nos in aeternum.	(B)
II, 5	None.	
II, 7, 19	depone sub lauru mea nec.	(B)
II, 9, 4	usque nec Armeniis in oris.	(C)
II, 9, 13	at non ter aevo functus amabilem.	(A)
II, 11, 4	quaerere nec trepides in usum.	(C)
II, 11, 10	vernīs neque uno luna rubens nitet.	(A)
II, 11, 13	cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac.	(A)
II, 13, 8	hospitis; ille venena Colcha.	(C)
II, 14, 11	enaviganda sive reges.	(B)
II, 15, 5	evincet ulmes. tum violaria et.	(A)
II, 17, 2	nec dis amicum est nec mihi te prius.	(A)
II, 17, 21	utrumque nostrum incredibili modo.	(A)

II, 19, 19	nodo coerces viperino.	(B)
II, 19, 26	ludoque dictus non sat idoneus.	(A)
II, 20	None.	
III, 1, 11	descendat in campum petitor.	(B)
III, 2, 5	vitamque sub divo et trepidis agat.	(A)
III, 3, 24	cum populo et duce fraudulento.	(C)
III, 3, 49	aurum inreptum et sic melius situm.	(A)
III, 3, 64	coniuge me Iovis et sorore.	(C)
III, 4, 8	quos et aquae subeunt et aurae.	(C)
III, 4, 9	me fabulosae Volture in Appulo.	(A)
III, 4, 20	non sine <i>dis</i> animosus infans.	(C)
III, 4, 41	vos Iene <i>consilium et datis et dato</i> .	(A)
III, 4, 59	<i>Volcanus hinc matrona Iuno et</i> .	(B)
III, 4, 70	<i>sententiarum notus et integrae</i> .	(A)
III, 4, 75	missos ad Oreum nec peredit.	(B)
III, 5, 10	anciliorum et nominis et togae.	(A)
III, 5, 12	incolumi Iove et urbe Roma.	(C)
III, 5, 14	dissentientis condicisionibus.	(A)
III, 5, 21	derepta vidi, vidi ego civium.	(A)
III, 5, 43	ab se removisse et virilem.	(B)
III, 5, 56	aut Lacedaemonium Tarentum.	(C)
III, 6, 18	primum inquinavere et genus et domos.	(A)
III, 17	None.	
III, 21, 10	sermonibus te negleget horridus.	(A)
III, 21, 21	te Liber et si laeta aderit Venus.	(A)
III, 23	None.	
III, 26, 9	O quae beatam diva tenes Cyprum et.	(A)
III, 29, 3	cum flore Maecenas rosarum et.	(B)
III, 29, 5	iamdudum apud me est. eripe te morae.	(A)
III, 29, 7	declive contempleris arvum et.	(B)
III, 29, 9	fastidiosam desere copiam et.	(A)
III, 29, 12	fumum et opes <i>strepitumque</i> Romae.	(C)
III, 29, 30	caliginosa nocte premit deus.	(A)
III, 29, 32	fas trepidat. quod adest memento.	(C)
III, 29, 40	<i>cum fera liluvies quietos</i> .	(C)
III, 29, 49	Fortuna saevo laeta negotio et.	(A)
IV, 4, 9	venti paventem mox in ovilia.	(A)
IV, 4, 22	nec scire fas est omnia sed diu.	(A)
IV, 4, 52	fallere et effugere est triumphus.	(C)
IV, 4, 56	pertulit Ausonias ad urbis.	(C)
IV, 4, 72	nominis Hasdrubale interempto.	(C)
IV, 9, 1	ne forte credas interitura quae.	(A)
IV, 9, 26	<i>multi sed omnes inlacrimabiles</i> .	(A)
IV, 14, 5	aeternet O qua sol habitabilis.	(A)
IV, 14, 17	spectandus in certamine Martio.	(A)
IV, 14, 24	mittere equum medios per ignis.	(C)
IV, 14, 33	te copias te consilium et tuos.	(A)
IV, 15	None.	

It must not be supposed that because a verse is rare in form it is necessarily crude. Some verses are rare (1) by design, as, for instance, might result from onomatopoeia; some (2) by chance, the unusual features being purely accidental; some (3) by defect. Like the cases of interverse hiatus, these last arise from immaturity in the poet's art, intractability of material, or conditions of composition some way unfavorable, as may be inferred from the circumstance that where such verses abound other irregularities are likely to be found. In I, 37, for example, along with the unduly similar word-arrangements of verses 21, 22, and 23, the objectionable fifth-space division of verse 23, the absence of the regular division in verses 5 and 14, the two dissyllables at the outset of verse 5, and other features shown in the three examples above quoted, we find interverse hiatus after verse 11 and a short initial syllable in verses 15 and 22. In III, 4, along with the monosyllable closing verse 59 and other features shown in the seven examples above, we find a prosodic irregularity in verse 41 and five cases of interverse hiatus. In III, 29, along with four verses closing with a monosyllable (three in the first three strophes), the two dissyllables at the outset of verse 5, and the other features shown in the nine examples above, we find verses 35-36 connected by interverse elision. It should be noted also in this poem that the form of verse 36 is repeated in verse 52, but nowhere else in Horace, and the form of verse 2 occurs elsewhere only in III, 4, 65.

TABLE VII.

Horace allowed a short syllable to begin a verse of the Alcaic Strophe in the following cases :

I, 9, 1	<i>A</i>
I, 16, 19	<i>B</i>
I, 17, 7	<i>B</i>
I, 27, 17	<i>A</i>
I, 27, 22	<i>A</i>
I, 29, 7	<i>B</i>
I, 29, 14	<i>A</i> (common syllable)
I, 31, 9	<i>A</i>
I, 31, 17	<i>A</i>
I, 35, 15	<i>B</i>
I, 35, 37	<i>A</i>
I, 35, 38	<i>A</i>
I, 37, 15	<i>B</i>
I, 37, 22	<i>A</i>
II, 1, 6	<i>A</i>
II, 3, 3	<i>B</i>
II, 7, 22	<i>A</i>
II, 9, 5	<i>A</i>
II, 13, 29	<i>A</i> (common syllable)
II, 14, 6	<i>A</i>
II, 17, 3	<i>B</i>
II, 17, 21	<i>A</i> (common syllable)
II, 19, 22	<i>A</i>
II, 20, 11	<i>B</i>
III, 1, 2	<i>A</i>
III, 1, 22	<i>A</i>
III, 1, 26	<i>A</i>
III, 3, 34	<i>A</i>
III, 3, 71	<i>B</i>
III, 4, 78	<i>A</i>
III, 5, 22	<i>A</i>
III, 29, 11	<i>B</i>
IV, 4, 58	<i>A</i> (common syllable)

Summary of cases in *A* (common syllables not included) :

Book I .....	8 cases
Book II .....	5 cases
Book III .....	6 cases
Book IV .....	0 cases
<hr/>	
Total .....	19 cases



Summary of cases in *B*:

Book I .....	5 cases
Book II .....	3 cases
Book III .....	2 cases
Book IV .....	0 cases
<hr/>	
Total .....	10 cases

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS

IN

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

Vol. 1, No. 7, pp. 205-262.

June 17, 1907

## SOME PHASES OF THE RELATION OF THOUGHT TO VERSE IN PLAUTUS

BY

HENRY W. PRESCOTT.

In his study of the Saturnian verse Leo has recently stated his conception of the relation of thought to verse in early Latin poetry: "in early Latin verse," Leo says, with reference especially to the Saturnian, "verse and sentence are identical; art-poetry in its beginnings" (and he refers to Plautus as illustrative of the principle)," when sentence-structure was developing, resisted this inherent requirement and limited itself to the norm by which words in the sentence intimately connected in thought were not separated by the verse unless the separation was justified by special considerations: externally, by reason of length, or by the colligation of words through alliteration or other means of connection; internally, by reason of emphasis or some stylistic effect of the word thus separated."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Vers und Satz fallen ursprünglich zusammen; . . . Die Kunstpoesie hat in ihren Anfängen, wie sich die Satzbildung mächtig entwickelte, mit dieser der Poesie inwohnenden Forderung gekämpft und sie auf die Norm beschränkt, dass im Satze eng zusammengehörige Wörter nicht durch den Vers getrennt werden dürfen, wenn sich nicht die Trennung durch einen besonderen Umstand als berechtigt erweist; äusserlich durch Länge, durch allitterirende oder andere einander suchende und anziehende Wortverbindungen, innerlich durch Nachdruck oder sonst stilistische Absicht des gesonderten Worts. So erscheint der Gebrauch bei Plautus ausgebildet." Der saturnische Vers 14 = Abhandl. Götting. Gesell. (1905).

In 1881 Buecheler reminded Schoell that only pronominal adjectives were separated from their nouns by the verse-end, that almost no other adjectives were so treated, in the text of Plautus (*Truculentus*, ed. Schoell, praefatio XLV, n. 1). Buecheler repeated this admonition in

Leo has left to others the task of testing the validity of his law. I have attempted to gather and study the evidence offered by one group of examples in Plautus, the cases in which adjectival words, whether ordinary attributives, pronominal adjectives, or numerals, are separated from their substantives by the verse. In many respects the study must be descriptive: the lack of similar studies in Greek poetry, and the fragmentary remains of earlier Latin poetry, usually of uncertain metrical constitution, retard a convincing account of Plautus's position in the historical development of verse-technique. Nor will it be just to confirm or refute Leo's theory until other phases of the problem in Plautus, and the corresponding phenomena in Greek poetry are investigated. For the present, the study may suggest points of view and methods of approach, which will doubtless need readjustment as the problem is studied in its larger aspects.

## I.

Among the features that Leo enumerates as justifying separation is length: this element may be a matter of syllables, or in addition to syllables may include an extension of thought. That is, a given word may be long, or a thought-unit involving several words may be long. In either case, it is not at once clear that length occasions the separation. If, however, as appears to be

---

Rh. Mus. 41 (1887) 312. In 1893 Appuhn published his dissertation: *Quaestiones Plautinae. Quae rationes inter versus singulos sententiasque intercedant Plauti exemplo comprobatur* (Marburg). Interpretative analysis was impossible in this attempt to cover a large field within the compass of a doctor's dissertation.

Norden summarizes the usage of Vergil in *Aeneis* Buch VI, 390-391. For references to studies of the general question of the collocation of words, as well as of the special question under consideration, cf. the same work 382 n. 1, and the same author's *Die antike Kunstprosa* I 68 n. 1.

In the present paper the song-measures are excluded; I have not knowingly included examples from such passages except for comparative purposes, and then their provenance is stated. I may be open to criticism in not dividing the material with reference to the metre of the verses concerned; but the results show no important differences between the technique of the iambic and trochaic verses, or of the shorter and longer verses, except such as may more conveniently be described parenthetically, and a metrical classification interferes with clearness of presentation.

the case,<sup>2</sup> words of five or more syllables that are metrically suitable regularly tend to the end of the verse, or less frequently to the beginning, it follows that, if such a word is a substantive or adjective, the difficulties in combining the two members of the pair in one verse are much greater than they otherwise would be. And similarly, a thought-unit consisting of a substantive and several adjectives, wherever they may be disposed in the verse, will by reason of the number of syllables, easily overflow into the next verse.

In a thorough treatment of Leo's theory predicative expressions should be included. The consciousness of verse-unity could not be better illustrated than in these two couplets:

isque hic compressit virginem adulescentulus  
(vi), vinulentus, multa nocte, in via. (Cist. 158)

quom hasce herbas huius modi in suom alvom congerunt  
formidulosas dictu, non essu modo. (Ps. 823)

But such cases of predicative expressions, involving long words, are apart from our immediate purpose. There are, however, a few cases of adjectives following their substantives (either adjective or substantive is of great length) and not so clearly predicative. Their position makes it possible that they amplify the meaning, in which case this amplifying force as well as length justify the separation. Most of these adjectives are derived from proper nouns; and since in almost all cases the adjectives stand at the beginning of the second verse it is significant to note that in Oscan and Umbrian proper adjectives usually follow their nouns:<sup>3</sup>

Philopoleum vivom, salvom et sospitem  
vidi in publica celoce, ibidemque illum adulescentulum  
Aleum una et tuom Stalagmum servom (Capt. 873)

<sup>2</sup> In the *Mostellaria*, for example, out of 90 cases of words of five or more syllables, two-thirds stand at the end of a verse; of the remaining third all but two are metrically impossible at the end. On the other hand words of four syllables are freely disposed in the interior of the verse. Five syllables is, therefore, assumed to be the minimum of length which may be regarded as offering difficulty.

<sup>3</sup> Nilsson, de collocatione pron. adj. apud Plautum et Terentium 10 = *Lunds Universitets Års-skrift* 37 (1901).

non ego te ad illum duco dentatum virum  
Macedoniensem, qui te nunc flentem facit: (Ps. 1040)

quem propter, o mea vita!—propter militem  
Babyloniensem, qui quasi uxorem sibi (Truc. 391)

sed illi patruo huius qui vivit senex  
Carthaginiensi duae fuere filiae: (Poen. 83)

These examples are of somewhat different value. In the first case, the length of *adulescentulum* and its consequent position (of fifteen occurrences of the word thirteen are at the end of the verse) are the controlling factors: *Aleum* is no more amplifying than in vs. 169 of the same play (*nam eccum hic captivom adulescentem (intus) Aleum, | prognatum genere summo et summis ditiis*) where the adjective is kept in the same verse with its shorter noun. The next two examples are alike in having the separated adjective followed by the caesural pause and an explanatory *qui*-clause.<sup>4</sup> In the last example, too, we have the caesural pause. Plautine usage of these adjectives points to length as the influential factor. *Carthaginiensis* occurs only at the beginning of the verse (Poen. 59, 84, 963, 997, 1377) with one exception (1124). *Babyloniensis* is less constant: at the beginning in Truc. 84, penultimate word in Truc. 203 (here, however, iambic septenarius; in the other cases, senarii); in all three cases the same phrase occurs. So we get *militem | Babyloniensem* (391), *| Babyloniensem militem* (84), *Babyloniensis miles |* (203). It is clear that length and metrical conditions are potent. *Macedoniensis* does not occur again: *Macedonius* takes its place (Ps. 51, 346, 616, 1090, 1152, 1162), and in all the cases except one (346) it stands at the end, different metrical constitution making it convenient in that position; in all the cases of *Macedonius*, however, separation is avoided except in the following couplet:

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Truc. 83:

quem antehac odiosum sibi esse memorabat mala,  
Babyloniensem militem: is nunc dicitur  
venturus peregre:

here the adjective is not separated, and a demonstrative resumes the description. For relative clauses defining separated adjectives cf. Seymour, Harv. Stud. III (1892) 98 ff., and for explanatory clauses after a separated demonstrative in Plautus cf. below, p. 252.

Pseudolus tuos allegavit hunc, quasi a Macedonio  
milite esset. (Ps. 1162)

In this case the adjective precedes, and the unity of thought is seriously affected. Such a case strengthens our feeling that in the examples in which the adjective follows its noun, it is not so much the amplifying force, which is difficult to prove, as it is the length that conduces to separation.

In a few cases of ordinary attributives, however, the thought, quite as much as the length, justifies the separation:

quom sexaginta milia hominum uno die  
volaticorum manibus occidi meis. (Poen. 472)

The swaggering antithesis of 60,000 and a single day<sup>5</sup> occupies the first verse, and crowds out *volaticorum*; but this adjective is in itself of a length that makes it most adaptable to the extremes of the verse—so in the conversation that follows our passage:

volaticorum hominum?—ita dico quidem.  
—an, opsecro, usquam sunt homines volatici?

Plautus is no slave to such external conditions, however, for the adjective by its separation and prominence produces the climax of surprising absurdity after the antithesis of the preceding verse. Nor is it far-fetched to suggest that the juxtaposition of *volaticorum* and *manibus*, “wings” and “hands,” is not accidental. In both of the following cases the rest of the second verse is an explanation of the separated adjective or substantive,<sup>6</sup> which stands at the beginning of the second verse before a strong pause:

ut in ocellis hilaritudo est, heia, corpus cuius modi,  
subvoluturium—illud quidem, subaquilum volui dicere. (Rud. 421)

novi, Neptunus ita solet, quamvis fastidiosus<sup>7</sup>  
aedilis est; si quae improbae sunt merces, iactat omnis. (Rud. 372)

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Aul. 70, Aul. frag. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Leo, *Analecta Plautina: de figuris sermonis* II 31, refers to the word-play in *subvoluturium*—*volui*. For a slightly different explanation of a separated adjective cf. below, p. 224. More like our present example, but with a play on verbs, is *Frivolaria*, frag. 8.

<sup>7</sup> In the only other occurrence of the adjective, *fastidiosus* is in the same position (M. G. 1233).

There may be a difference of opinion in the interpretation of the second example: perhaps the second verse explains *fastidiosus* rather than *aedilis*. But in any case *aedilis* comes in as a surprise and, as in the first example, the separation and the position of the unexpected idea enhance the effect.

It is, of course, true that the separation seems more violent in the second case than in the first because the adjective precedes. Similarly in these examples:

quo modo me ludos fecisti de illa conducticia  
fidicina?—factum hercle vero, et recte factum iudico. (Ep. 706)

volo deludi illunc, dum cum hac usuraria  
uxore nunc mihi morigero. (Amph. 980)

In both of these the long prepositional phrase, quite apart from the long adjective, makes separation almost inevitable.<sup>8</sup> Without a preposition the accusative case *fidicinam*—*conducticiam* is accommodated in a single verse in Ep. 313; whereas the same phrase with *uxoraria* escapes separation only by occupying an entire verse:

cum Alcumena uxore usuraria. (Amph. 498)

The significant fact is that in all the few occurrences of *conducticia* and *usuraria* the adjectives stand at the end of the verse (Curc. 382, Truc. 72). The same position is the regular habitat of *praesentarius*, so that the following separation may in large measure be referred to the length of the adjective:

vendidit tuos natus aedis.—perii.—praesentariis  
argenti minis numeratis.—quot?—quadraginta.—occidi. (Trin. 1081)

(For other cases of this adjective at the end, Most. 361, 913, Poen. 705, 793.) The explosive alliteration in the first verse may, from Leo's standpoint, partially reestablish the unity of that verse; indeed, from an English point of view the idea "cash down" is a separable idea,<sup>9</sup> but we may not safely attribute it to *praesentarius*.

The fact that *argenti minis* constitutes an almost inseparable

<sup>8</sup> The alliteration in Ep. 707 is also to be noted.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *mutuos*, below, p. 234.

unit (usually at the end or beginning of a verse) adds to the difficulty. This brings us to examples of long thought-units. Such thought-units may be of two sorts: a substantive attended by a succession of adjectives of equal value, e. g. "a long, lean, rascally, devil of a fellow"; or a substantive accompanied by attributive modifiers of unequal value, e. g. "my own twin sister." Our author is fond of billingsgate, and offers a richer store of the first variety of compounds than we may quote. In general it may be said that such a succession of adjectives is usually so disposed as to accentuate the unity of the verses: the substantive usually precedes or is embraced between groups of attributives; the thought is in a measure complete, and the virtues or vices or indifferent qualities either run over into several verses or occasionally are bound within a single verse, in either case without serious disturbance of verse-unity. A few examples will illustrate these characteristics:

nisi mihi supplicium virgeum (MSS. virgarum) de te datur  
longum, diutinumque, a mane ad vesperum. (M. G. 502)

stat propter virum  
fortem atque fortunatum et forma regia. (M. G. 9, cf. 56-57)

ecquem  
recalvom ad Silanum senem, statutum, ventriosum,  
tortis superciliis, contracta fronte, fraudulentum,  
deorum odium atque hominum, malum, mali viti probrique plenum,  
qui duceret mulierculas duas secum satis venustas? (Rud. 316)

For other examples, Bacch. 280 (if Leo's *strigosum* is accepted), Cas. 767, Men. 402, 487, M. G. 88, Ps. 724, 974, Rud. 125, 313, Truc. 287. In the examples quoted other obvious features will be noticed: in the first, intensification of one idea in one verse; in the second, initial rhyme. There are a few cases of a succession of two or three adjectives in which the unity is not so obvious:

ut aliquem hominem strenuom  
benevolentem adducerem ad te. (Ps. 697)

post altrinsecust securicula ancipes, itidem aurea  
litterata: ibi matris nomen in securiculast.<sup>10</sup> (Rud. 1158)

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Rud. 478, 1156-1157.



ibi nunc statuam volt dare auream  
solidam<sup>11</sup> faciundam ex auro Philippo, (Cure. 439)

In all of these the noun and one adjective (or two) stand in the first verse so that the thought is practically complete; *benevolentem*, and *aurea* (as we shall see presently), are metrically convenient in the places which they occupy; the separated adjectives all stand at the beginnings of their respective verses and are not without emphasis; it is also to be noticed that *litterata* is explained in the rest of the verse.

Of the second variety of thought-units, two occur with sufficient frequency to be of significance. These are the expressions for "own twin sister, brother, son," often accompanied by a pleonastic numeral when the expression is in the plural; and the phrase for a sum of money in which *nummi aurei Philippi* in various arrangements, with an accompanying numeral or further attribute, makes an elaborate complex. This latter phrase is usually from eight to thirteen syllables in extent, and on five occasions the longer varieties run over into a second verse:<sup>12</sup>

sunt tibi intus aurei  
trecenti nummi Philippi?—sescenti quoque. (Poen. 165)

qui mihi mille nummum crederet  
Philippum, (Trin. 954)

atque etiam Philippum, numeratum illius in mensa manu,  
mille nummum. (Trin. 965)

hic sunt numerati aurei  
trecenti nummi qui vocantur Philippei. (Poen. 713)

nam ducentis aureis  
Philippis redemi vitam ex flagitio tuam. (Bacch. 1010)

On the contrary, in a large majority of cases similar varieties of the same phrase, not always with *aureus*, are included in a single verse: As. 153, Bacch. 230, 590, 882, 934, 1026, Poen. 670, 732, Trin. 152, 959, 1158.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The proximity of *faciundam* gives *solidam* predicative force in our passage: cf. Cicero, de div. I, 24, 48.

<sup>12</sup> In Pers. 438 *probi numerati* are probably amplifying, as Leo brings out in his punctuation: cf. Pers. 526.

<sup>13</sup> It is not likely that in any of these phrases there was any violent separation (cf. for the usage of the various forms Langen, Beiträge zur Kritik u. Erklärung des Plautus 85 ff., Brix on Trin. 844). At least in

There are a dozen instances of the first phrase, including more than six syllables, and of these only two escape into a second verse; these two are of eleven and ten syllables:

geminam germanam meam  
hic sororem esse indauidi: eam veni quaesitum. (M. G. 441)  
spes mihi est vos inventurum fratres germanos duos  
geminos, una matre natos et patre uno uno die. (Men. 1102)

The second of these (and possibly the first<sup>14</sup>) is only apparent separation: *geminos* is followed by a sense-pause which emphasizes the idea as amplifying, and the elaboration of the same idea in the rest of the same verse gives a distinct unity to that verse. Indeed, *geminus* is elsewhere in the same play a substantive: Men. 26, 40, 68, 69, and if the prologue is of dubious authorship in parts, at least once in the play itself, vs. 1120. In nine cases long forms of this complex are confined to a single verse: Amph. 480, cf. 1070, Men. 18, 232, 1082, 1125, M. G. 238, 383, 391, 717. To be sure, our impression that this situation points to a sensitiveness to verse-unity is momentarily disturbed when we find a much shorter form of the same phrase running over:

sicut soror  
eius huc gemina venit Ephesum et mater accersuntque eam. (M. G. 974)

Only momentarily, for again *gemina* may be substantival; Palaestrio may be working upon the soldier very tactfully, the separation of *nummus Philippus*, the use of *Philippus* alone, and the examples above (Trin. 954, 965, with *qui vocantur Philippi* in Poen. 714), suggest that the words are separable, either one amplifying the other. When *aureus* (convenient at the verse-end, cf. above and As. 153, Bacch. 230, 590, 934, Trin. 1139) is a part of the phrase, the separation seems more violent; if, however, Bentley's emendation of Bacch. 230 is right, there would be some evidence of a substantival *aureus*, similar to the usage of later times; and one should compare the usage of *χρυσούς* as a substantive without *στατήρ* in the fragments of Greek comedy: Jacobi, comicae dictionis index s. v. *χρυσούς*. The separation of *aureus* is no more than that of a material genitive as in Hipponax, 22, 4:

καὶ σαμβάλισκα κάσκερίσκα καὶ χρυσοῦ  
στατήρας ἐξήκοντα τοῦτέρον τοίχον.

But Plautus does not separate the genitive *auri* in this phrase.

<sup>14</sup> The resumptive *eam* in the same verse with *sororem* may help to strengthen the unity of the verse.

slowly unloading his ammunition, "a sister, her twin." (So, perhaps, also in vss. 473-474.) And Leo might add that the alliteration in *sicut soror* reasserts the unity of the first verse.<sup>15</sup>

## II.

In so far as he overcomes the obstacle offered by length in a large majority of cases, Plautus may be said to show respect for the integrity of the verse. But the poet's aversion to separation or his indifference to verse-unity is best tested by conditions in which there are no obstacles in the length of words or thoughts. Some general considerations will help us to appreciate the examples.

In the later Republican prose the substantive is often separated from its attributive by intervening words, and much more frequently in poetry; so far as I know, no effort has been made to discover whether such separation is regulated by any laws or not<sup>16</sup>—whether, for example, certain attributives are more separable than others, whether the intervening words are of some special character, etc. Norden<sup>17</sup> has already pointed out that such separation in early Latin prose is, as regards the number and the nature of the intervening words, subject to limitations. Altenburg<sup>18</sup> has collected the material: usually only one word intervenes, or if more, they constitute a unit of thought. From our present point of view we should like to know whether the attributives themselves show degrees of separability: whether,

<sup>15</sup> Under the head of long thought-units should come Ep. 559, in which the genitive and the adjectives constitute an inseparable compound and perhaps account for the escape of *mulierem*:

accipe, aerumnosam et miseriarum compotem  
mulierem retines.

The same would apply to Nonius's reading *aerumnarum*.

<sup>16</sup> Even the interpretation of the material under discussion in this paper would be facilitated by a study of the collocation of adjective and substantive within the verse, quite apart from the question of separation by the verse.

<sup>17</sup> Die antike Kunstprosa I 179-180, and 180 n. 2.

<sup>18</sup> De sermone pedestri Italicorum vetustissimo = J.H.B. Supplbd. 24 (1898) 523 ff.

for example, the separation of certain pronominal adjectives does not appear earlier than that of ordinary attributives. Perhaps the material is too scanty to lead to convincing generalization; the fact that in Oscan the relative adjective is very regularly separated from its noun and stands at the opposite extreme of the clause lends significance to a similar situation in Plautus.<sup>19</sup> Such observations as Kaibel makes in his study of Aristotle's Athenian Constitution<sup>20</sup> would affect our interpretation of many examples if early Latin prose showed similar characteristics: he notes that certain pronominal adjectives are separated from their substantives with greater frequency and by more intervening words than ordinary attributives; he mentions in the order of such frequency *ὅτος*, *πᾶς*, *ὅλος*, *ἅλλοι*, the relative, *τοσοῦτος*, *ὅσος*, *οὐδεὶς*, *ὁ αὐτός*, *τίς*; but the last seven are naturally represented only by one or two examples; he also refers to numerals, but without mentioning the frequency of separation in such cases. Altenburg's examples show that some of the corresponding words in Latin are separated in early prose.<sup>21</sup> When we add thereto that in Plautus, quite apart from the question of separation within the verse, the cases of separation by the verse and, often, by intervening words as well, show a relatively large number of pronominal adjectives and numerals, we may suspect that some influence made the disturbance of verse-unity either less violent or more imperative than it appears to us and than it perhaps was in the case of ordinary attributives: in Plautus 20 per cent. of the cases of separation by the verse-end are pronominal adjectives, 25 per cent. possessive adjectives, 15 per cent. numerals. That is, more than half are pronominal words and numerals.

A step towards the explanation of some of these phenomena has been taken by Wackernagel,<sup>22</sup> though without reference to the matter of verse-unity. His investigations in Indogermanic languages, especially Greek and Latin, bring to light survivals

<sup>19</sup> Altenburg, l. c. 530; Norden, l. c. I 181 n. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Stil u. Text der *Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων* des Aristoteles 99 ff.

<sup>21</sup> For example, *ceteri*, *omnes*, numerals including *nullus*, *alter*, *tantus*, *qui* (rel.), *quis* (indef.).

<sup>22</sup> Indog. Forsch. I 406 ff. Cf. Delbrück, Syntakt. Forsch. III 47.

of a law by which short enclitic words tend to the beginning of a sentence, usually to the second place. Pronominal words are often enclitics, and some pronominal adjectives are directly affected by this law. Others are indirectly affected; for the law of pronominal attraction, combined with Wackernagel's law, will sometimes bring pronominal words that may or may not be enclitics to at least the third place in the sentence. Such laws have precedence of the natural attraction of the adjective to its substantive.

A few other laws affect the collocation of words so fundamentally that verse-unity must waive its claims, whenever it conflicts. Words of the same category are attracted to one another. Certain formulas exist for the expression of certain ideas, e. g., of oaths. Groups of words in Plautus have been studied and peculiarities of collocation discovered. Most of these conditions reflect the usage of ordinary speech. But there are other artificial combinations—whether due to the influence of rhetoric or not we may not always say—resulting often in the interlocking of words and the consequent separation of words that are syntactically connected. All such factors must be appreciated. Apparent violation of verse-unity may be only conservation of these natural or artificial collocations.<sup>23</sup>

Some of these general considerations account for the separate treatment of ordinary attributives, possessive adjectives, other pronominal adjectives, and numerals. All of them will make more intelligible the discussion of individual passages.

In this discussion I do not wish to be understood as representing the attendant features to be the cause of separation or atonement for separation; that would be begging an important question. In viewing the problem of verse-unity with reference to Leo's theory, it is apparent that the cases of separation are often attended by such features as Leo regards to be justifications for

<sup>23</sup> On the various matters here briefly referred to cf. Langen, *Rh. Mus.* 12 (1857) 426 ff.; Kellerhof, *de collocatione verborum Plautina* = *Studium-Stud.* II 49 ff.; Kämpf, *de pronominum personalium usu et collocatione ap. poet. scaen. Rom.* 16 ff. = *Berliner Studien* III (1886); Leo, *Bemerkungen über plautinische Wortstellungen u. Wortgruppen* = *Nachricht. Götting. Gesell.* (1895) 416, 432-433; Norden, *Aeneis Buch VI*, 386.

separation: a descriptive paper notes the appearance of such features. Quite apart from this descriptive treatment is the important question which Leo's theory involves, namely: is Plautus, under the influence of earlier Latin poetry, conscious of verse-unity in the sense that all cases of separation must be justified by special considerations? Granting that these features attend separation, there is the further question: may any or all of these be proved to be necessarily involved in the relation of thought to verse? For example, alliteration is inherent in Plautus's style: may not its appearance have nothing to do with verse-unity?<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, granting that Plautus is conscious of the individuality of each verse, which may hardly be denied, such consciousness may arise in one of several ways: a poet may be under the influence of a primitive form of verse in which verse and sentence are identical—so Plautus in Leo's theory; or he may be far removed from any such influence and yet preserve the unity of the verse—which is not necessarily lost sight of entirely even in advanced stages of verse-development—either for the purpose of bringing into relief units of thought, or as a concession to an artificial tendency of his time.<sup>25</sup> On a priori grounds Plautus's attitude towards verse-unity may well be suspected of being affected by the Saturnian verse; he is, however, adapting Greek comedies, and the verse-technique of his Greek sources had reached a much higher point than contemporary Latin verse. This counter-influence must be reckoned with in any a priori reasoning. Leo would be the first to recognize the validity of this contention.

None of these important questions is begged in the following descriptive treatment. Some of them may be considered by way of conclusion, but many of them cannot be settled in a study of a few phases of verse-unity. The division of adjectives is but a small part of word-division, and word-division is but a part of

<sup>24</sup> Of course the fact that alliterative groups are usually limited to a single verse in itself shows a consciousness of verse-unity. The question at issue is whether a noun or adjective is separated for the purpose of bringing it into an alliterative group.

<sup>25</sup> Such an artificial preservation of unity appears in Bion: cf. Wilamowitz, *Adonis* 38-39.

a larger topic which includes the division of the larger units of thought, phrases and clauses.

### III.

When an attributive follows its substantive it is often possible that the adjective is amplifying; each case must be interpreted with reference to the context, but the mere possibility justifies us in distinguishing between (*a*) adjectives that follow, and (*b*) those that precede their substantives. Further classification might be desirable, for example, with reference to whether or not words intervene between the adjective and noun; but this would confuse the discussion. I have persuaded myself from an inspection of the *Mostellaria* that the number and the nature of the words that intervene between adjective and noun within the verse are the same in the corresponding situation when a verse-end also intervenes. In some cases it may well be argued that verse-unity was sacrificed to the normal collocation of words. The equally important question whether within the verse the collocation of adjective and noun and intervening words is ever abnormal for the sake of preserving verse-unity is not within the limits of this paper.

#### (*a*)

It is not easy to draw a line between purely predicative and amplifying adjectives. The former, as we saw in examples of long adjectives, are often set off in a separate verse; many are participial:

is ex se hunc reliquit qui hic nunc habitat filium  
pariter moratum ut pater avosque huius fuit. (Aul. 21)

cur inclementer dicis lepidis litteris  
lepidis tabellis lepida conscriptis manu? (Ps. 27)

vilicus is cum corona, candide  
vestitus, lautus, exornatusque ambulat. (Cas. 767)

Somewhat different in effect, but equally separable are these participial adjectives:

miles lenoni Ballioni epistulam  
conscriptam mittit Polymachaeroplagides, (Ps. 998)

hominem cum ornamentis omnibus  
exornatum adducite ad me iam ad trapezitam Aeschinum. (Ps. 756)

et tu gnatam tuam  
ornatam adduce lepide in peregrinum modum. (Pers. 157)

“Writes and sends,” “dress up and bring” may suggest the effect of such separation. Such examples, in which the verbal element is prominent, are hardly within the scope of this paper.<sup>26</sup>

I take it that the following group of cases will not be regarded as illustrating real separation; predicative or amplifying as you please, the suggestion of physical or emotional distress is an afterthought, which separation by the verse-end and intervening words, and position in close connection with caesura or diaeresis accentuate:

item parasiti rebus prolatis latent  
in occulto miseri, victitant suco suo. (Capt. 82)

ecastor lege dura vivont mulieres  
multoque iniquiore miserae quam viri. (Merc. 817)

itaque nos ventisque fluctibusque  
iactatae exemplis plurumis miserae<sup>27</sup> perpetuam noctem; (Rud. 369)

illa autem virgo atque altera itidem ancillula  
de navi timidæ desuluerunt in scapham. (Rud. 74)

ibi me nescio quis arripit  
timidam atque pavidam, nec vivam nec mortuam. (Curc. 648)

A similar pathetic effect is evident in

mulierculas  
video sedentis in scapha solas duas. (Rud. 162)

<sup>26</sup> Nor present participles as in

nam istaec quæ tibi renuntiantur, filium  
te velle amantem argento circumducere, (Ps. 430)

<sup>27</sup> So, preceding a pronoun, in a lyrical context:

sed muliebri animo sum tamen: miserae (quom venit) in mentem  
mihi mortis, metu membra occupat. (Rud. 685)

Note the alliteration carried through the couplet with pathetic effect. Another example, of *misera* following a pronoun:

pol me quidem  
miseram odio enicavit. (As. 920)



Nor will there be any doubt that these adjectives are independent:

nunc equos iunctos iubes  
capere me indomitos, ferocis, (Men. 862)

*Conviva commodus* in M. G. 642 does not prevent the same adjective from becoming an amplifying expression with the same noun in

convivas volo  
reperire nobis commodos, qui una sient. (Poen. 615)

Here the noun and adjective appear at the extremes of the sentence after and before pauses.<sup>28</sup> In the following case the context shows that *frigidam* is predicative; *caleferi* finds its antithesis in *adponi frigidam*:

caleferi iussi reliquias—pernam quidem  
ius est adponi frigidam postridie. (Pers. 105)

“Served up cold” is clearly the idea.<sup>29</sup>

Nor may I admit as indubitable cases of real separation such substantival adjectives as *virgo* and *posticum*:

eius cupio filiam  
virginem mihi desponderi. (Aul. 172)  
est etiam hic ostium  
aliud posticum nostrarum harum aedium: (St. 449)

*Filiola virgo* (Rud. 39) and *virginem gnatam suam* (Trin. 113) may support the adjectival force of the first adjective, but in any case the separation in our passage defines *filia* and contrasts the daughter of Euclio with the middle-aged woman of Megadorus’s previous remarks (162).<sup>30</sup> As for *posticum*, it is clearly

<sup>28</sup> The adjective *molestum* in the following verses is more closely connected with the infinitive:

et impudicum et impudentem hominem addeceat  
molestum ultro advenire ad alienam domum, (Rud. 115)

And one will not take *luculentum* (*luculente* P) as anything but predicative (Ep. 158) after comparing vs. 341 of the same play.

<sup>29</sup> Cf.

memini: ut muraena et conger ne caleferent:  
nam nimio melius oppectuntur frigida. (Pers. 110)

<sup>30</sup> So, but with clearly expressed contrast in the second verse, the compound *virgo civis* is divided in

an paulum hoc esse tibi videtur, virginem  
vitiare civem? conservam esse credidi. (Ter. Eun. 857)

a substantive in Most. 931, and so its diminutive in Trin. 194, 1085; in the Stichus, if not an appositive, it defines *ostium*.<sup>21</sup> The separation of *aliud* does not here concern us.

In connection with substantival adjectives another passage in the Aulularia is to be considered:

namque hoc qui dicat: quo illae nubent divites  
dotatae, si istud ius pauperibus ponitur! (Aul. 489)<sup>22</sup>

The contrast between *divites* and *pauperes* suggests that the former is substantival; but it does not at once follow that *dotatae* is purely adjectival. For vss. 534–5 of the same play show how easily the participial adjective becomes substantival:

nam quae indotata est, ea in potestate est viri;  
dotatae mactant et malo et damno viros.

Similarly Ter. Phor. 938, 940. If, however, it is adjectival in our passage, it adds to and explains *divites* very much as *factiosum* in

venit hoc mihi, Megadore, in mentem ted esse hominem divitem  
factiosum, me autem esse hominem pauperum pauperrimum. (Aul. 226)

In both passages we have the contrast between rich and poor, and in *factiosum* as in *dotatae* the happy isolation at the beginning of the verses of a more specific attribute of the rich class: in each case the emphasis is accentuated by the sense-pause which follows the separated adjective. From a different point of view *hominem divitem* | *factiosum* should be compared with *hominem strenuom* | *benevolentem* (Ps. 697, above, p. 211).

Most of such amplifying ideas are similarly brought into prominence by their position at the beginning of the second verse; often they are followed by a decided sense-pause; sometimes this separation brings them into the vicinity of contrasted

<sup>21</sup> The verse immediately following in the Stichus (450a) contains *posticam partem*, but this verse is not in A, and the division of 450a and 451 in B is suspicious: cf. Leo *ad loc.* If vs. 450a is genuine, as Lindsay seems to regard it in his Oxford text, a purely adjectival force gains some support. Cf. Pauli Festus, 220 M = 276 de Ponor.

<sup>22</sup> In a similar context Menander (585 K.) has a similar separation:

ὅστις γυναῖκ' ἐπὶ κληρον ἐπιθυμεί λαβεῖν  
πλουτοῦσαν

ideas.<sup>33</sup> All of these features, with attendant alliteration, are illustrated in

ego te, Philocrates  
false, faciam ut verus hodie reperiare Tyndarus. (Capt. 609)

The separation of an adjective from a vocative is similarly arranged, but here in a succession of epithets (referred to on p. 211), in

Quid ais, homo  
levior quam pluma, pessume et nequissime,  
flagitium hominis, subdole ac minimi preti? (Men. 487)

The surprise of the opprobrious epithet is made more effective by separation and prominent position. The element of surprise, which *false* and *levior*, like *subvolturium* and *volaticorum* among the long adjectives, illustrate, recurs in another example of the vocative; the parasite greets his patron as a veritable god on earth:

o mi Iuppiter  
terrestris, te coepulonus compellat tuos. (Pers. 99)

Without the element of surprise and without so distinct a sense-pause, but, I think, with emphasis *paterni* is separated in

nonne arbitraris eum adulescentem anuli  
paterni signum novisse. (Trin. 789)

So in Poen. 1080 the same adjective stands with emphasis in the same position, though not separated.

Contrast is heightened by alliteration<sup>34</sup> in

quodque concubinam erilem insimulare ausus es  
proabri pudicam meque summi flagiti, (M. G. 508)

and here prominent position is given to the crime rather than the adjective, that the two crimes may occupy the extremes of

<sup>33</sup> For contrasted ideas brought into the same verse by the separation of an adjective cf. Caecilius 221 R<sup>2</sup>:

egon vitam meam  
Atticam contendam cum istac rusticana (tua), Syra?

unless it is an octonarius, as C. F. W. Müller supposes. Bergk's *asticam* brings out the contrast more plainly: cf. *rusticam* . . . *urbanam* in Pomponius 7 R<sup>2</sup> (Leo, *Analecta Plautina*: de figuris sermonis II 32).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *probrum*, *propinqua partitudo* (Aul. 75), *probrum* . . . *partitudo prope* . . . *palam* (Aul. 276).

the verse and the two abused innocents be juxtaposed in *pudicam meque*. Contrast and comprehensiveness are obtained in this separation of *dexteram*:

age rusum ostende huc manum  
dexteram.—em.—nunc laevam ostende.—quin equidem ambas profero. (Aul. 649)

Somewhat different is the collocation in

nexus laevo in femine habet laevam manum,  
dextera digitis rationem computat, ferit femur  
dexterum. (M. G. 203)

Here the contrasted parts occupy different verses; *dexterum* echoes *dextera* of the preceding verse,<sup>35</sup> and the actor's gestures doubtless contributed to the effect; the alliterative features are plain, whether or not part of the poet's intention in separating the adjective.

An adjective expressive of size is naturally liable to separation and prominence;<sup>36</sup> in this example *maxumi* is practically predicative; number and size are postponed with dramatic effect:

postquam in cunas conditust  
devolant angues iubati deorsum in impluvium duo  
maxumi: continuo extollunt ambo capita. (Amph. 1107)

Essentially attributive, but in effective juxtaposition, the same adjective is postponed with more injury to verse-unity in

summe probus, sum lepidus civis, qui Atticam hodie civitatem  
maxumam maiorem feci atque auxi civi femina? (Pers. 474)

The postponement of the verb makes the thought less complete, but the alliterative juxtaposition<sup>37</sup> of the superlative and comparative more than compensates for the separation. When the verb comes in the first verse, the adjective escapes into the second verse with less violence to unity, and in this example is brought

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *usque* . . . | *usque* . . . | *faciebatis* . . . | *fugiebatis* . . . (As. 210-213); *iussin* (As. 424-426); *deam* . . . | *dcum* . . . (As. 781-782); *omnes* (Aul. 114-115); *itaque* (Cist. 513-515); *perii* (Merc. 124-125); *egomet* (Merc. 852-854); *ferreas*, *ferream*, *ferreas* (Pers. 571-573); *perque* (Poen. 418-420), *pater* . . . | *pater* . . . (Poen. 1260-1261).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Norden, *Aeneis* Buch VI, 390.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Cas. 1006, Amph. 704, Capt. 1034, M. G. 1218, Rud. 71, St. 739.

into associations of thought and sound that give the second verse a unity of its own:

nulla igitur dicat: equidem dotem ad te adtuli  
maio rem multo quam tibi erat pecunia. (Aul. 498)

So with elaborated emphasis on size:

verum nunc si qua mi obtigerit hereditas  
magna atque luculenta,<sup>38</sup> (Truc. 344)

A necessary specification is added to the noun in

ut opinor, quam ex me ut unam faciam litteram  
lon(gam, me)um laqueo collum quando obstrinxero. (Aul. 77)<sup>39</sup>

Alliterative possibilities may have helped attract the adjective into the neighborhood of *laqueo*; the alliteration in *litteram* | *longam* is merely an unavoidable accident.

This prominent position, combined with a sense-pause, sometimes introduces an elaboration of the idea<sup>40</sup> expressed in the separated adjective; so in the elaboration of a joke:

si hercle illic illas hodie digito tetigerit  
invitas, ni istunc istis invitassitis (Rud. 810)

or with further explanation of the idea as in the examples quoted above (p. 211) in Rud. 1158, and (p. 209) 421, 372.

In two examples in which the long adjective *inhonestus* is set at the beginning<sup>41</sup> of the verse the amplifying idea occupies the entire second verse with predicative effect:

nunc hic ocepit quaestum hunc fli gratia  
inhonestum et maxime alienum ingenio suo. (Capt. 98)

<sup>38</sup> Note the balance between *magna atque luculenta* (345) and *dulce atque amarum* (346).

<sup>39</sup> According to the reading of the MSS. Bacch. 379 belongs here:

ego lembum conspicor  
longum strigorem maleficum exornarier.

But *strigorem* is dubious.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Norden, Aeneis Buch VI, 391.

<sup>41</sup> The same adjective stands in the same position in Ter. Eun. 357. For the occupation of the entire second verse cf. Trin. 750:

sed ut ego nunc adulescenti thesaurum indicem  
indomito, pleno amoris ac lasciviae?

verum quom multos multa admissæ acceperim  
inhonesta propter amorem atque aliena a bonis: (M. G. 1287)<sup>42</sup>

A few cases remain in which the added ideas, set off at or near the beginning of the second verse, are rather conspicuously linked by alliteration to neighboring words in the same verse; some such cases have been already mentioned, but in the following the alliteration is even more conspicuous:

tum quæ hic sunt scriptæ litteræ, hoc in equo insunt milites  
armati atque animati probe.<sup>43</sup> (Bacch. 941)

quid istic? verba facimus. huic homini opust quadraginta minis  
celeriter calidis, danistæ quas resolvat, et cito. (Ep. 141)

quibus hic pretiis porci veneunt  
sacres sinceri? (Men. 289)

Diaeresis or caesura contribute to the emphasis and independent unity of the amplifying ideas; in the second example the entire second verse has a unity of its own, of which the alliteration is a superficial indication.<sup>44</sup> In the following example, referred to among the cases of successive epithets, the alliteration in both verses brings into relief the distinct unity of each, and the separated adjective, being only the last in an accumulation of epithets, escapes into the second verse without violence:

iam hercle ego istos fictos compositos crispas concinnos tuos  
unguentatos usque ex cerebro exvellam. (Truc. 287)

In M. G. 508 we noted a certain artificiality in *probri pudicam meque summi flagiti* (above, p. 222). The employment of the ends of a verse to set in relief a pair of balanced ideas appears in

“eme, mi vir, lanam, unde tibi pallium  
malacum et calidum conficiatur, tunicaeque hibernæ bonæ,” (M. G. 687)

The adjectives here are less evidently amplifying, though conceivably separable; the striking feature is the position of each

<sup>42</sup> Omitted in A.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Accius 308 R:

ut nunc, cum animatus iero, satis armatus sum.

<sup>44</sup> For alliterative groups including *calidus* cf. Cas. 255, 309, Ep. 256; and especially, in connection with our passage:

reperi, comminiscere, cedo calidum consilium cito, (M. G. 226)

pair of adjectives at the opposite extreme of the verse, the first pair varied by the connecting particle *et*. The two substantives are divided between the verses; the verb common to both stands before the diaeresis of the second verse; the alliteration is comparatively unimportant. Cf. Norden, *Aeneis* Buch VI, 383 on similar phenomena in Vergil.

The regularity with which adjectives, following their substantives and separated, stand at the beginning of the second verse, is not appreciably disturbed by a few examples of different dispositions of the separated ideas. So the adjective *sacerrumus*, which regularly appears at the end of a verse in Plautus (Rud. 158, Most. 983), is effectively placed in a verse which constitutes a unity by itself and with alliteration that hisses out the opprobrious epithet:<sup>45</sup>

praesenti argento homini, si leno est homo,  
quantum hominum terra sustinet sacerrumo. (Poen. 89)

Similarly Plautus sets off the accomplishments of the parasite's sun-dial; again superlatives, and to be sure in one case metrically convenient (cf. Merc. 206); and again in a verse that is an independent unit; both this and the former example are essentially predicative:

nam(unum) me puero venter erat solarium,  
multo omnium istorum optimum et verissimum. (Boeotia, 1, 4)

The separated adjective stands after a diaeresis, with reiteration of the same idea at the end of the same verse and in the next verse, in

quia enim filio  
nos oportet opitulari unico.—at quamquam unicust,  
nihilo magis ille unicust mihi filius quam ego illi pater: (Cas. 262)

(Cf. Capt. 150: *tibi ille unicust, mi etiam unico magis unicus.*)

A somewhat similar but less explicable separation occurs in

si itast, tesseram  
conferre si vis hospitalem, eccam attuli. (Poen. 1047)

Here the adjective is not demonstrably amplifying (cf. 953,

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Ter. Hec. 85:

minime equidem me oblectavi, quae cum milite  
Corinthum hinc sum profecta inhumanissimo:

1052, where it precedes the noun), though it may be felt as an afterthought; the association of thought in *eccam attuli* may have drawn it from its noun; but the interruption, by the verse-end, of the artificial interlocking of *tesseram conferre si vis hospitalem*—a thought-unit embraced between noun and adjective—is striking. The examples above (Poen. 615, Pers. 105, p. 220) are similar, but the adjectives in those cases are more clearly amplifying or predicative.

We have reviewed the cases in which the separated adjectives follow their substantives:<sup>66</sup> such adjectives have very regularly stood at the beginning of the second verse and usually with a caesura or sense-pause immediately following; with few exceptions they have been added ideas, the separation of which was accomplished without violence to verse-unity; many of them, indeed, were almost if not quite predicative; most of them gained by separation, through acquiring emphasis, or producing antithesis or sound-effects. There is perhaps only one doubtful case:

quin potius per gratiam  
bonam abeat abs te. (M. G. 1125)

It may hardly be said that *bonam* adds to the thought, for *per gratiam* is sufficient in itself (M. G. 979, 1200, and St. 71 according to Leo, Bemerkungen über pl. Wortstellungen etc. 418 and Lindsay, Class. Rev. 8 [1894] 159). *Bona gratia* is, of course, Plautine (Bacch. 1022, Rud. 516). The same idea, expressed in the same play, vs. 979,

vin tu illam actutum amovere, a te ut abeat per gratiam?

makes us suspect that in 1125 the poet availed himself of the pleonastic adjective and of separation for the sake of the reiteration.

<sup>66</sup> Most. 501 should be added:

hospes me hic necavit, isque me  
defodit insepultum clam (ibidem) in hisce aedibus,  
scelestus, auri causa. nunc tu hinc emigra:  
scelestae hae sunt aedes, impiast habitatio.

The afterthought *scelestus* is echoed in *scelestae*. *Insepultum* needs no comment: cf. *defodit in terram dimidiatos* in Cato's Speeches, XXXVII 3.



tion of a- and b-sounds, just as a consideration for a- and t-sounds affected the structure of vs. 979.<sup>47</sup>

(b)

It is obvious that the cases of separation in which the adjective appears in the first verse, and the substantive in the second, necessarily involve the incompleteness of the first verse. In most of the cases enumerated in the previous paragraphs the adjectives ranged from purely predicative to loosely amplifying; the thought was in a measure complete in the first verse, especially if the verb came in that verse; the separation was apparent rather than real. The examples about to be discussed may seem, *per se*, to impair the validity of Leo's theory; it is important, therefore, to note that they are few in number. Nor is it impossible that in spite of the separation the noun or adjective may be so related to the context as to reinforce to some extent the unity of the verses.

It may be well to quote at once a striking example of the realization of this possibility. In one passage already quoted we have seen some evidence of a rather studied disposition of adjectives and substantives (M. G. 687, above, p. 225). The case before us shows evidence of even more care in the collocation of words:

aequo mendicus atque ille opulentissimus  
censetur censu ad Acheruntem mortuos. (Trin. 493)

It is perhaps annoying to enumerate the features of this couplet, which are sufficiently plain to any sympathetic reader or hearer. In the first place, the thought is incomplete until the caesura of the second verse is reached. Yet the separation of *aequo* from *censu* is attended by an effective juxtaposition of ideas in the first verse, which gives to that verse a partial unity.<sup>48</sup> The sep-

<sup>47</sup> Appuhn, l. c. 67-68, distinguishes sharply between dissyllabic and trisyllabic adjectives, and maintains that the former may not be separated. There does not seem to me to be any evidence to warrant such a distinction, and it lacks inherent probability. His contention that *bonam* is unemphatic and absorbed in the first foot, may ease the separation, but does not explain it.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Cist. 532:

postremo quando aequa lege pauperi cum divite  
non licet,

aration of *censu* results in a *figura etymologica* and consequent unity of sound- and sense-effect. And *mortuos* at the end carries us back to the nouns of the first verse in such a way as to establish the unity of the couplet by the close interlocking of ideas.<sup>49</sup>

A phase of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ is illustrated in the following case:

deceat innocentem qui sit atque innoxium  
servom superbum esse, apud erum potissimum. (Ps. 460)

The thought is again incomplete until we reach the caesura of the second verse; yet there is a fitness in the transference of *servom* to the side of *superbum*, with which it belongs as much as with the adjectives of the preceding verse, and to which alliterative opportunities (cf. As. 470) attract it. The significance of this example is clearer on comparing it with the recurrence of the same thought without separation of the adjective in

deceat innocentem servom atque innoxium  
confidentem esse, suom apud erum potissimum. (Capt. 665)

In both passages the verse preceding the couplet contains the adverb *confidenter*, and this adverb prompts the commonplace in each case: in the Capt. the poet repeats the idea of the adverb in the corresponding adjective; in the Ps. he chooses a synonym. It is not, of course, possible to discover whether in the latter case his choice was determined by a desire to avoid the recurrence of the same stem or whether the alliterative unit *servom superbum* came to his mind independently of any consciousness of monotony in the repetition *confidenter—confidentem*. But in any case the comparative artificiality of the couplet from the Ps. is evident: the development in freedom of technique is clear.<sup>50</sup> Without discounting the value of other factors may we

<sup>49</sup> Nor is the emphasis on *aequo* to be overlooked; cf. the Greek equivalent in Menander 538 K:

κοινὸν τὸν Ἀἰδῶν ἔσχον οἱ πάντες βροτοί.

The tragic seriousness of the speaker in the Trinummus perhaps explains the artificial style, which adds dignity to the expression (Leo, Plaut. Forsch. 122 and note 5).

<sup>50</sup> The hiatus in Capt. 665 is perhaps a part of the crudity of composition.

not say that when once the alliterative unit occurred to him the unity of sound proved superior to the affinity of the attributive for its noun, and that this conservation of unity of sound was made easier or perhaps suggested by the fact that there was a strong unity of thought as well which linked *seruom* to *superbum*? By this question we do not imply any conscious intent on the poet's part: we mean simply to suggest that the two examples seem to us to prove that the poet's technique on occasion had got beyond the point of preserving the more natural and obvious unity of thought, and shows here as elsewhere a sensitiveness to unity of sound and to the more artificial phases of unity of thought.

In this connection, properly, we should note the isolation of an adjective in the first verse by the transposition of its noun to a relative clause that occupies the second verse:<sup>22</sup>

nisi qui meliorem adferet  
quae mi atque amicis placeat condicio magis, (Capt. 179)

It will be granted that this is analogous to our previous example: again the noun, to which two attributive ideas belong, is expressed with the second.

Somewhat similar, too, are these cases in which a noun common to two adjectives is separated from the first adjective, and stands at the beginning of the second verse before a sense-pause: the second adjective stands in the same verse with the noun:

multis et multigeneribus opus est tibi  
militibus: primumdum opus est Pistorensibus; (Capt. 159)

quam ego postquam aspexi, non ita amo ut sani solent  
homines, sed eodem pacto ut insani solent. (Merc. 262)

The sound-effects, especially in the tetrasyllabic rhyme in the second case, are obvious.

<sup>22</sup> The figure of speech involved, without separation by the verse, is easily paralleled in Plautus and other poets: for examples cf. Bach, *de attractione* . . . *inversa* ap. *scriptores latinos* 16; Vahlen, *Hermes* 17 (1882) 598-599; Leo, *Analecta Plautina: de figuris sermonis* I 20. If, however, separation by the verse occurs, the adjective is usually a demonstrative: cf. Rud. 1065, Poen. 449 (quoted below, p. 254).

Equally studied is the juxtaposition of different case-forms of the same word; the separation that results may indicate that the attraction of words of the same stem for each other<sup>52</sup> is stronger than the attraction of the attributive to its noun or than any sensitiveness to verse-unity:

nam ex uno puteo similior nunquam potis  
aqua aquai<sup>53</sup> sumi quam haec est atque ista hospita. (M. G. 551)

Again the thought reaches a partial completion at the caesura; the four objects in two pairs are grouped in the second verse; and the sound-effect in *aqua aquai* was doubtless not ungrateful to the audience. This example, too, gains in significance from the occurrence of the same thought in another form:

nam ego hominem hominis similiorem nunquam vidi alterum.  
neque aqua aquae nec lacte est lactis, crede mi, usquam similis,  
quam hic tui est, tuque huius autem; (Men. 1088)

Here it is worth noting that the second example, which is without separation, shows all the simplicity and explicit fulness of an early and undeveloped style; the identity of sentence and verse is almost as exact as in the early Saturnian verse. The first example, on the contrary, shows a freer technique: the thought is more condensed, less explicit; verse-unity is less scrupulously preserved. We have a suggestion before us of a difference, if not of a development, in verse-technique in the course of the poet's activity.

Artificiality in the disposition of words is clearly discernible in

non meministi me auream ad te afferre natali die  
lunulam atque anellum aureolum in digitum? (Ep. 639)

The chiasmic arrangement of the pairs of substantives and adjectives, the consistent diminutives in the second verse in contrast with *auream* in the first verse, and the artificial interlocking of the words are the noticeable features. So far as any unity is discoverable, it consists only in such unity as appeals to the ear

<sup>52</sup> For other examples cf. Kiessling, Rh. Mus. 23 (1869) 411 ff., Kellerhof, l. c. 58-60.

<sup>53</sup> The traces of *aeque* in A and B (both, however, corrected to *aquae*) need not detain us: cf. Men. 1089 quoted above.

from the different sound-effects of each verse—a-sounds predominating in the first verse, l-, m-, u-, and n-sounds in the second; certainly there does seem to be something conscious in the change from *auream* of the first verse to *aureolum* of the second; we may properly maintain that the unity of form and of sound-effects in the second verse could have arisen only from a consciousness that the second verse was a distinct entity. At the same time the fact that the consciousness expresses itself only in a superficial or external preservation of verse-unity, and that unity of thought is interrupted, suggests that “art-poetry” in Plautus’s hands was on occasion further advanced than the chronological proximity of Saturnian verse would lead us to suspect.

In contrast with merely superficial observance of unity stand a few cases of separation in which the thought serves to reassert the unity of the verse:

hosticum hoc mihi

- domicilium est, Athenis domus est Atticis; ego istam domum  
neque moror neque vos qui homines sitis novi neque scio. (M. G. 450)

Alliteration, to be sure, may have attracted *hosticum* to *hoc*, but the dominant factors are emphasis and contrast. *Hosticum* is first in the sentence because emphasis brings it to that position. *Domicilium* is first in the verse<sup>54</sup> because emphasis again demands for it a prominent position: it must stand in the same verse with *domus* to bring out the contrast between “house” and “home.” The effect may be suggested in English by “Stop! a *stranger’s* | *house* you point me to; *my home’s* in Athens; for *your home* | I care not, nor know I who you gentlemen may be.”

Another passage in which at first sight unity seems to be disregarded, when studied in the light of the context, shows considerable consciousness of the intimate association of verse-unit and thought-unit:

habui numerum sedulo: hoc est sextum a porta proximum  
angiportum, in id angiportum me devorti iusserat;  
quotumas aedis dixerit, id ego admodum incerto scio. (Ps. 960)

<sup>54</sup> But *est domicilium* in CD. Note also *hostium* (*ost*—) BCD.

Here, again, it may be said that *porta* has attracted the alliterative *proximum*, but the verse-division represents a corresponding division of thought. The beginning of the first verse leads up to the number and precise location; *angiportum*, separated from its two adjectives, stands out at the beginning of the second verse, again with emphasis, and is repeated<sup>55</sup> with the resumptive pronoun—all of which heightens the contrast with *aedis* of the third verse. The effect is: "I've got the *number* right: the *sixth*, (in going from the gate), | *alley-way*, that's the *alley-way* I was told to take; | but the number of the *house*, that I've clean forgotten."

Perhaps the existence of any unity in the following example will be less readily granted:

coepti observare ecqui maiorem filius  
mihi honorem haberet quam eius habuisset pater. (Aul. 16)

There seem to be two prominent factors in the separation: the comparative degree is attracted to the ablative of degree of difference;<sup>56</sup> alliteration brings together *honorem* and *haberet*.<sup>57</sup> Yet is it too fanciful to say that in spite of the separation the position of *filius* and *pater* at the ends of their verses<sup>58</sup> suggests a unity of thought quite apart from and above the syntactical and alliterative unity of each verse? The two verses are comparable to the two pans of the scale, the son balancing the father, and *maiorem* alongside of *filius* marking the turn of the balance which the expectant Lar anticipates.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Examples of such repetition may be found in Bach, de usu pron. demonstrat. = Studemund-Stud. II 353-354.

<sup>56</sup> See the examples in Fraesdorff, de comparativi gradus usu Plautino 31 ff. Other factors, external or internal, may have precedence over the natural juxtaposition of the ablative of degree and the comparative, but the generalization above is not thereby endangered.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *honos homini* Trin. 697, *meque honorem illi habere* Truc. 591, *mihi honores suae domi habuit maximos* Pers. 512, *habuit, me habere honorem* As. 81.

<sup>58</sup> To be sure, they owe their position in some measure to metrical convenience: cf. vss. 12, 21, 30 of the same prologue.

<sup>59</sup> It is not likely that the following example involves separation (but note *vinum Chium* in Curc. 78):

ubi tu Leucadio, Lesbio, Thasio, Chio,  
vetustate vino edentulo aetatem inriges. (Poen. 699)

Nor can I be sure that my understanding of the next case will prove convincing. The adjective *mutuos* is occasionally separated in expressions of the ideas of borrowing and lending; in two of the cases the adjective follows the noun, in one the adjective precedes. For purposes of comparison I include them all here, although the former belong in the previous section:

tecumque oravi ut nummos sescentos mihi  
dares utendos *mutuos*. (Pers. 117)

sed quinque inventis opus est argenti minis  
*mutuis*, quas hodie reddam: (Ps. 732)

sed potes nunc *mutuam*  
drachumam dare unam mihi, quam cras reddam tibi? (Ps. 85)

The frequent collocation of this adjective with *dare* and *rogare* in commercial phrases may have given it a substantival force corresponding to the English "loan": so, for example, *exorare mutuom* in Pers. 43 (with *argentum* far distant in 39) suggests that the adjectival force is approximately substantival,<sup>60</sup> and eventually this substantival usage becomes established; even in Plautus we have *tute si pudoris egeas, sumas mutuom* (Amph. 819). If this is granted, the separation becomes innocuous, even if the adjective precedes; the alliteration in the last example perhaps adds to the unity of the verse, but no such additional feature is necessary if *mutuam* is in effect appositional.

The cases hitherto discussed have shown, in varying degrees, consciousness of verse-unity and conservation of it to some extent in spite of the separation of the attributives. The examples we have now to consider do not so plainly point to a sensitiveness to the identity of verse- and sense-unit. There are often extenuating circumstances, but in most cases we must admit that the separation involves a distinct interruption of a thought-unit with less effectual employment of the features that in other examples reinforced the unity of the verse. Prominent

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Ps. 294:

nullus est tibi quem roges  
*mutuom* argentum?—quin nomen quoque iam interiit "*mutuom*."

As. 248 and Trin. 1051 also show *mutuos* in a sense approximately substantival. The various forms of *facere mutuom* are hardly parallel.

among these is a group of superlatives of cretic measurement which may owe their separation in part to metrical convenience; occasionally there result sound-effects that may have conduced to separation, but in general the violation of unity is unmistakable, and the palliating or counteracting features are superficial. It is, however, always to be remembered that the cases of separation are extremely few in proportion to the number of occurrences of a given adjective at the end of a verse. The most important member of this group is *maxumus*, which we have already found separated, but following its noun and standing at the beginning of the second verse with emphasis. This adjective appears 86 times in Plautus: 39 times at the end of the verse, 38 times in the interior, nine times at the beginning. It is not likely that, under normal conditions, the position at the verse-end is prompted by a desire to emphasize;<sup>61</sup> generally unemphatic words occupy this position. A collection of all the examples of the phrase *opere maxumo*, with and without separation, will illustrate the feature of metrical convenience:<sup>62</sup>

nam rex Seleucus me opere oravit maxumo (M. G. 75)

nunc te hoc orare iussit opere maxumo (Most. 752)

pater Calidori opere edixit maxumo (Ps. 897)

rogare iussit ted ut opere maxumo (St. 248)

iussit maxumo

opere orare, ut patrem aliquo absterreris modo, (Most. 420)

non hercle vero taceo. nam tu maxumo

me opsecravisti opere, Casinam ut poscerem uxorem mihi (Cas. 992)

Cf. Terence,

Thais maxumo

te orabat opere, ut cras redires. (Eun. 532)

<sup>61</sup> Such a position for emphasis is occupied at least once by the very words with which we are now concerned:

ego miserrumis periculis sum per maria maxuma  
vectus, capitali periclo per praedones plurimos  
me servavi, (Trin. 1087)

<sup>62</sup> The significance of the cases of separation is somewhat more apparent when we note that *magno opere*, *maiore opere*, *nimio opere*, *tanto opere* are never separated in Plautus by the verse-end.



It is evident that *opere* is attracted to *orare* and *opsecrare*, but so far as the thought is concerned, there is nothing to diminish the violence in the division of *maxumo opere* in Most. 420, or the division of the larger word-groups in Cas. 992 and Eun. 532. And in the first of the two following cases of *maxumus* there are no sound-effects to relieve the separation; in the second, separation brings together m- and a-sounds; these are, however, from lyrical passages:

ubi quisque institerat, concidit crepitu. ibi nescio quis maxuma  
voce exclamat: (Amph. 1063)

quam malum? quid machiner? quid comminiscar? maxumas  
nugas ineptus incipisso.<sup>62</sup> haereo. (Capt. 531)

Cf. Terence,

Geta, hominem maxumi  
preti<sup>64</sup> te esse hodie iudicavi animo meo; (Ad. 891)

Consideration for sound and the artificial arrangement of words may have played some part in the structure of these verses:

Alexandrum magnum atque Agathoclem aiunt maxumas  
duo res gessisse: quid mihi fiet tertio,  
qui solus facio facinora immortalia? (Most. 775)

The a-sounds are prominent in the first verse; *magnum* and *maxumas* are perhaps not unintentionally put in the same verse; *duo*, interlocked between *maxumas* and *res*, is in contrast with *tertio* at the other extreme of the same verse.<sup>65</sup>

Another superlative *optumus* occurs at the end of the verse in one third of the total number of its occurrences; in only one case does its position result in separation:

<sup>62</sup> *Ineptias incipisse* is the reading of the MSS.

<sup>64</sup> Contrast with this the stereotyped position at the end of the verse, without separation, of *minimi preti*, *parvi preti*, *magni preti*, *quantivis preti* in Plautus (cf. Rassow, de Plauti substantivis s. v. *pretium* GS. = JHB. Supplbd. 12 (1881) 710).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *altera . . . altera*, Aul. 195; *superi . . . inferi*, Aul. 368; *miserius . . . dignius*, Bacch. 41; *malefactorem . . . beneficum*, Bacch. 395; *meam . . . tuam*, Capt. 632. It is interesting to note in this connection a couplet in bacchiac verse:

sed vero duae, sat scio, maxumo uni  
populo cuilubet plus satis dare potis sunt, (Poen. 226).

sed, ere, optuma  
vos video opportunitate ambo advenire. (Ep. 202)

With this should be compared

optuma opportunitate ambo advenistis. (Merc. 964)

Next in significance to the rarity of the separation is the fact, attested by the verse from the Merc., that the initial sounds *op—v—v—op* are the external manifestation of unity which is certainly interrupted by the end of the verse. Such a case is far from disturbing Leo's theory. Such interlocked complexes of thought and sound, which are characteristic of the language, must burst the bonds that confine units of thought within the verse; that they do it so rarely is significant.

A third superlative that, like *optumus*, stands at the end of the verse in one third of the total number of its occurrences is *plurumus*. The singular and the plural of this word are perhaps on a different footing: the plural is conceivably analogous to the separation of *omnes*;<sup>66</sup> so, for example, in this case of *plurumi* in the interior of a verse, the separation seems less violent than in cases of the singular:<sup>67</sup>

plurumi ad illum modum  
periere pueri liberi Carthagine. (Poen. 988)

Whether this is true in the case of the following feminine plural is not at once patent to an English auditor:

O Gripe, Gripe, in aetate hominum plurumae  
fiunt transennae, ubi decipiuntur dolis. (Rud. 1235)

In any case, the singular seems at first to be rather rudely separated in

miles Lyconi in Epidauro hospiti  
suo Therapontigonus Platagidorus plurumam  
salutem dicit. (Curc. 429)

Here the conventional phrases of epistolary address run along naturally and result in two separations, with the first of which

<sup>66</sup> Cf. below, p. 258.

<sup>67</sup> In Eph. 391 *pluruma* (*plurimum* MSS.) is predicative.

we are not now concerned, but verse-unity is suggested in the alliterative colligation of *Platagidorus plurumam*; the effect is as if *plurumam* were an adverb and *salutem dicit* no more than *salvere iubet*, as the following example suggests:

erum atque servom plurumum Philto iubet  
salvere, Lesbonicum et Stasimum. (Trin. 435)

in which, again, we have similar alliteration—*plurumum Philto*, pronounced *Pilto*. So, too, our explanation is confirmed by

multam me tibi  
salutem iussit Therapontigonus dicere (Cure. 420)

in which, as in the other cases, *multam me* are attracted to each other, while *salutem iussit* like *salutem dicit* and *salvere* stands at the beginning of the second verse.<sup>68</sup>

The adjective *parvolus* occurs thirteen times: nine times at the end of a verse, three times with separation. Of these three, one belongs in our examples of adjectives following their nouns, and is a mere afterthought:

nam mihi item gnatae duae  
cum nutrice una sunt surruptae parvolae. (Poen. 1104)

The other two, both from the same play and of the same situation, are cases of violent and absolute separation:<sup>69</sup>

nam ego illanc olim quae hinc flens abiit parvolam  
puellam proiectam ex angiportu sustuli. (Cist. 123)

nam mihi ab hippodromo memini adferri parvolam  
puellam eamque me mihi supponere. (Cist. 552)

A comparison with three cases in Terence justifies us in attributing the separation in large measure to metrical convenience:

ibi tum matri parvolam  
puellam dono quidam mercator dedit (Eun. 108)

<sup>68</sup> On the other hand, without separation, but again in alliterative colligation in

Veneri dicito  
multam meis verbis salutem. (Poen. 406)

<sup>69</sup> The alliteration, interrupted by the verse-end, in *parvolam* | *puellam* has no significance, for it is accidental: the range of expressions for the idea is too limited to admit our regarding it as genuine alliteration.

nisi si illa forte quae olim periit parvola  
soror, hanc se intendit esse, ut est audacia. (Eun. 524)

ah, stultitias istaec, non pudor. tam ob parvolam  
rem paene e patria! (Ad. 274)

In the second example sense as well as sound may connect *periit parvola*—"died in infancy," and in the last there are sound-effects that reassert the unity of the verses.<sup>70</sup>

So much for this group of cretic adjectives;<sup>71</sup> the following participial adjectives may be more easily separable because of

<sup>70</sup> Something might be said for a substantival force in *parvola*, though it could hardly apply to the last example from Terence: such a force is possible in Ter. Eun. 155:

parvola  
hinc est abrepta;

the substantival force is evident in Terence's *a parvolo* (And. 35, Ad. 48) = *a puero*. The nearest approach to it in Plautus is in Poen. 896, 1346, but it is not certain in either place; nor is Ps. 783 a clear case. Cf. Lorenz, *Pseudolus*, Einleitung p. 59.

<sup>71</sup> Before leaving these examples in which metrical convenience seems to be a factor in the separation, I may call attention to a closely related phenomenon which, it seems to me, is not always recognized. Is not the stereotyped position of certain words in the verse often nothing more than the working of the poet's mind along the path of well-worn "grooves," as a psychologist might express it? For example, in the cases above in which *salutem iussit* or *dicit*, or *salvere iubet*, appear, the position of *salutem* and *salvere* (rather regularly at the beginning of the verse, though not uniformly) can hardly be attributed to metrical convenience alone: it is to some extent a matter of habit. A better example is furnished by these examples from Euripides's *Iphigeneia in Tauris*:

τολμητέον τοι ξεστὸν ἐκ ναοῦ λαβεῖν  
ἀγαλμα πάσας προσφέροντε μηχανάς. (111)

Φοῖβος μ' ἐπεμψε δεῦρο, διοπετὲς λαβεῖν  
ἀγαλμ' Ἀθηνῶν τ' ἐγκαθιδρύσαι χθονι. (977)

σὺν τοῖς ξένοισιν οἴχεται, σμνὸν θεᾶς  
ἀγαλμ' ἔχουσα· δόλια δ' ἦν καθάρματα. (1315)

τὸ τ' οὐρανοῦ πέσημα, τῆς Διὸς κόρης  
ἀγαλμα. ναὸς δ' ἐκ μέσης ἐφθέξατο  
βοή τις. (1384)

Those of us who are reluctant to admit metrical convenience as a factor may find some comfort in emphasizing the part that mental habit plays in the regular appearance of certain words in the same part of the verse. *Ἀγαλμα* in the verses above seems to me to owe its position to this rather than anything else.

the peculiar nature of the adjective, and the balanced isolation of *pater*:

salve, insperate nobis  
pater, te complecti nos sine.—cupite atque expectate  
pater, salve. (Poen. 1259)

The greetings are from two sisters with artificial variation of the conventional terms: the imperatives and vocatives are arranged in chiasmic order; *pater* stands at the beginning of each verse,<sup>12</sup> leaving the adjectives at the end in each case. The collocation is the same as in

o salve, insperate multis annis post quem conspicio  
frater, (Men. 1132)

according to MS. B, but the other members of the Palatine family (and A apparently agrees) introduce a change of speakers before *frater*. Even if we agree with the editors in following A and the majority of the Palatine family, the isolation of the participial vocative, and the relative clause that modifies it, may point to a certain degree of separability in the participial adjectives *insperate*, *cupite*, and *expectate* in our passage.<sup>13</sup>

There remains a small group of cases in which verse-unity seems to be lost sight of, and which are alike in that the adjectives are of four syllables metrically convenient at the end of the verse:

pol istic me haud centesumam  
partem laudat quam ipse meritust ut laudetur laudibus. (Capt. 421)

haud centesumam  
partem dixi atque, otium rei si sit, possum expromere. (M. G. 763)

si quisquam hanc liberali  
causa manu assereret, (Curc. 490)

ne epistula quidem ulla sit in aedibus  
nec cerata adeo tabula; et si qua inutilis  
pictura sit, eam vendat: (As. 763)

*Centesumus* occurs only in these two places in Plautus; *liberali causa* occurs in the interior of the verse in Poen. 906, 964, 1102,

<sup>12</sup> Cf. above, p. 223, n. 35.

<sup>13</sup> Feger, de vocativi usu Plautino Terentianoque 32, defends the reading of B in Men. 1132 on the ground that *insperate* is not found in Plautus without an accompanying noun.

and so *liberali manu* in *Curc.* 668, 709; *inutilis* occurs again in *Ps.* 794 and at the end of the verse. But the separation in these cases is not entirely a matter of length and metrical convenience: the collocation of the other words in the sentence is so fixed by almost inviolable laws that it is not surprising that the adjective should escape into the second verse. For to anybody familiar with Plautus and with Wackernagel's study of the position in the sentence of enclitic words it will be clear that the collocations *pol'istic me, si quisquam hanc*, and *et si qua* are to a considerable extent fixed in the usage of the language; the increased difficulty of conserving verse-unity is obvious.<sup>74</sup>

The very fact that in some 15,000 verses so few cases of separation occur—and this in spite of the fondness of the Roman for interlocked complexes which would seem to make the preservation of verse-unity difficult—clearly attests the sanity of Leo's contention. The further fact that in so many of the few cases of separation the unity of the verse reasserts itself through association of thought or sound confirms in large measure his requirement of special justification when separation does occur. The existence of a few cases in which unity is not apparent need not affect the validity of the principle; the essential unity of the verse so far as attributive adjectives are concerned is clear at once from comparison with a tragedy of Euripides or of Seneca—clearer than any statistics could make it.

#### IV.

The large proportion of possessive adjectives among the cases of separation deserves an explanation. They represent one-fourth of the total; indeed if we eliminate cases of merely apparent separation the proportion would be even larger.

No small part of the explanation is found, of course, in the relative frequency of the possessive adjectives in the conversa-

<sup>74</sup> In *As.* 763 ff. there is perhaps some effect in the position of the nouns *epistula, cerata tabula, pictura* at or near the beginning of successive verses. The resumptive *eam* may also reinforce the unity of the last verse.

tional Latin of the plays. That among 3000<sup>75</sup> cases of possessive adjectives only about 60 should be separated from their substantives by the verse-end may seem in itself some slight tribute to verse-unity rather than a contravention of it. Yet the obvious violence to the unity of thought, at least from an English standpoint, in dividing "thy son" between two verses makes even a small percentage seem inexplicably large. We must not, however, allow our English standpoint to influence us. The separation of "thy son" by the verse-end in English is not altogether analogous to the separation of *filius* from *tuos*. For in the Latin sentence the phrase corresponding to "thy son" is much less of an independent unit of thought than in the English sentence: in the Latin sentence, largely because the possessives *meus*, *tuos*, *suos* are generally unemphatic and often without accent in the phrase- or sentence-unit, the division by the verse-end does not separate "thy" from "son," but rather divides a larger unit of thought. It is clear, for example, that *tuos emit aedis filius* (Most. 670) constitutes a unit of thought; and so, too, does *aedis filius* | *tuos emit* (Most. 637, cf. 997). The separation in this latter case, if any is felt, is rather that of *aedis filius* from *tuos emit* than merely of *filius* from *tuos*. Furthermore, since the possessive adjectives *meus*, *tuos*, *suos* are generally unemphatic in our examples, it is possible and likely that in this example *tuos* was absorbed in the rhythmical unit *tuos emit* without much consciousness of any violence in separating *tuos* from *filius* by the verse-end; the frequency and ease with which words intervene between these possessives and their substantives (quite apart from separation by the verse-end) may support this contention. Even if the possessive had some slight stress upon it, as in the beginning of trochaic verses and rarely in an iambic verse (*filiam* | *suam despondit*, Cist. 600), certainly such stress was subordinate: *suam*, despite some quantitative prominence, must have been merged in the surrounding words.<sup>76</sup> Of course it may be ob-

<sup>75</sup> Nilsson, l. c. 12.

<sup>76</sup> Some such idea is expressed by Appuhn, l. c. 63, but in a way that fails to account for trochaic verses and Cist. 600. I hope it is clear that

jected that the thought would lead us to merge it in the preceding, rather than in the following word, in the example quoted, and that the possessive is enclitic,<sup>77</sup> not proclitic. For our present purpose it is enough that the possessive is absorbed in a larger unit, and that the separation by the verse-end is by no means the same as that involved in the division between verses of the English possessive and its substantive.<sup>78</sup>

In the second place it is to be noted that the possessives are subject to at least one influence from which ordinary attributives are free: Kämpf,<sup>79</sup> and others before him, observed the attraction of pronominal words to one another. Such attraction appears in a relatively small number of our examples:<sup>80</sup>

eam meae | uxori (Men. 480),  
 illam quae meam | gnatam (Cist. 547),  
 tu mihi tua | oratione (As. 112),  
 ad illam quae tuom | . . . filium (Bacch. 406),  
 fores conservas | meas a te (As. 386),

the paragraph above is not intended to offer any complete explanation of the separation, but only to suggest that the separation, such as it is, is probably by no means so harsh as it appears to us. The point that I wish to make is that the unemphatic possessive has very little independent force and is not merely "swallowed up" (Appuhn) metrically, but absorbed in larger thought-units even of ordinary speech.

<sup>77</sup> Lindsay, *Latin Language* 167; but cf. E. Wallstedt, *Från Filologiska Föreningen: Språkliga Uppsatser III* (Lund 1906) 189 ff; also Radford, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* 36 (1905) 190 ff. Neither of these last two articles was accessible to me in time to use them for the discussion above.

<sup>78</sup> The fact that the genitive case is used in appositional relation to the possessives (e.g. *mea unius opera*) might lead to the suggestion that the separation is not more serious than that of a possessive genitive. This would be a helpful suggestion if the possessive genitive in Plautus were regularly or even frequently separated from its noun by the verse; cases do occur (e. g. Bacch. 901, Rud. 1079, Cist. 544), but rarely; and the possessive genitive with *pater*, *uxor*, *filius*, *mater*, which are the nouns most frequently appearing in our cases of the separated possessive adjective, is in Plautus almost inseparable from its noun even by intervening words.

<sup>79</sup> Kämpf, l. c. 16 ff.

<sup>80</sup> A few cases, though too few to be significant, of a verse-end intervening between pronominal words thus combined are worth noting: *tua | me* Cas. 279-280, *meam | me* Cist. 98-99, *me | meam* Ep. 480-481, *mea | meas* M. G. 738-739, *se | suamque* Trin. 109-110, *tibi | tua* Pa. 112-113.



filio | meo te esse amicum et illum intellexi tibi (Capt. 140),

sine dispendio | tuo tuam libertam (Poen. 163),

servos . . . | suos mihi (Most. 1087).

If alliteration appears in such cases, it is, of course, incidental and results from the attraction; it is not a primary factor.

Wackernagel (Indog. Forsch. I, 406 ff.) does not include *meus*, *tuos*, *suos* among his examples of enclitic words that drift to the beginning of the sentence. There are cases of separation that might have been affected by his law, but they are too few to suggest the direct influence of his law; these few show the enclitic possessives immediately following the introductory word; they seem more significant when other words intervene between the possessive and the noun: e. g. Truc. 355, Aul. 733, St. 416. Since Wackernagel's law affects particularly certain monosyllabic and dissyllabic pronouns, it follows that in combination with the law of pronominal attraction there results in many cases the necessity of placing the possessive in the third or fourth place; take, for example, these two cases, one of separation, one without separation:

conteris

tu tua me oratione, mulier, quisquis es. (Cist. 609)

profecto nemo est quem iam dehinc metuam mihi

ne quid nocere possit, cum tu mihi tua

oratione omnem animum ostendisti tuum. (As. 111)

To say nothing of other features, the rule of collocation that makes *tu* second in the sentence, in combination with the attraction that joins *tu tua me* and *tu mihi tua*, undoubtedly regulates to a considerable degree the disposition of the words; and it is clear that the existence of such laws of collocation must appear seriously to interfere with the poet's consideration of verse-unity, at least in many cases.

Such laws affect the spoken language; if Plautus is more observant of them than of verse-unity, it is no more than we should expect of a dramatic poet who is reproducing the conversational Latin of his day. The same general truth applies to ordinary attributives, but they are not as a class subject to these particu-

lar regulations. In addition to the observance of laws controlling the arrangement of words in speech the poet is governed by the conditions of his verse. It is easy to overestimate the force of metrical convenience. It is seldom more than one of many factors. But it may hardly be denied that the iambic or pyrrhic possessives found a comfortable habitat at the end<sup>81</sup> and at the beginning of certain iambic and trochaic verses. Indeed, quite apart from the metrical convenience of the possessives that do not involve separation, the cases of separated possessives of iambic or pyrrhic measurement lead to two conclusions:

1) in all cases of separation in which *meus*, *tuos*, or *suos* follows a substantive, whether with or without intervening words, the possessive stands at the beginning of the second verse;<sup>82</sup>

2) in all cases of separation in which *meus*, *tuos*, or *suos* precedes a substantive, whether with or without intervening words, the possessive stands at the end of the first verse.<sup>83</sup>

The exceptions to these principles<sup>84</sup> only test their validity. It is of course evident that in the cases covered by the first rule there is no reason why the possessive should not stand at the end of the second verse; such a position is unusual, probably because the separation by intervening words is thereby abnormally great; an example from Terence is

qui tum illam amabant, forte ita ut fit, filium  
perduxere illuc, secum ut una esset, meum. (And. 80)

Similarly under the second rule there is no reason why the possessive should not stand at the beginning of the first verse; but here, again, such position is unusual probably because of the extent of the intervening words; an isolated example is

<sup>81</sup> For statistics cf. Nilsson, l. c. 37.

<sup>82</sup> Amph. 134, 135, As. 387, 434, Aul. 289, Bacch. 880, Capt. 141, 873, Cist. 586, 601, Cure. 347, 430, Ep. 391, 401, 482, 583, M. G. 543, Most. 638, 998, 1088, Poen. 164, 192, 1375, Ps. 483, 650, 850, Rud. 743, Trin. 1101, 1144, Truc. 293.

<sup>83</sup> As. 16, 112, 785, Aul. 733, Bacch. 406, 777, Cist. 184, 547, 772, Ep. 279, Men. 420, 480, 518, 740, M. G. 563, 635, 799, Rud. 1392, St. 416. Trin. 1147, Truc. 355.

<sup>84</sup> The hiatus, therefore, after the first word of Ps. 650 is not to be cured by changing *suam huc* to *huc suam* (Bothe), and Trin. 141 becomes suspicious.

meamne hic Mnesilochus, Nicobuli filius.  
per vim ut retineat mulierem? (Bacch. 842)

In both cases the rare position is attended by other features: in the first, the postponement of *meum* perhaps suggests the pathos of the situation: in the second, emphasis, alliteration, and collocation with *hic* are contributory factors. Finally, such an exception to these rules as appears in the following example is due to the peculiar nature of the formula and the greater convenience of *obsecro* at the end:

adsum, Callicles: per tua obsecro  
genua, ut tu istuc insipienter factum sapienter feras (Truc. 826)

Cf. Curc. 630, where *per tua genua te obsecro* concludes the verse, and Poen. [1387], where, again at the end of the verse, we find *per ego tua te genua obsecro*.<sup>85</sup>

We have thus noted several features that make the comparatively large number of separated possessives more easily understood. As in the case of ordinary attributives, there are occasionally special conditions which emphasize the unity of the verse in spite of the separation. The accidental alliteration arising from pronominal attraction we have already noticed, there are a few cases of genuine alliteration:

ubi erit empta, ut aliquo ex urbe amoveas; nisi quid est tua  
secus sententia. (Ep. 279)

nam hominem servom suos  
domitos habere oportet oculos et manus (M. G. 563)

oculos volo  
meos delectare munditiis meretriciis. (Poen. 191)

There are a few cases, allied to those of pronominal attraction, in which pronominal words are not immediately juxtaposed but are grouped together in the same verse:

ah, salus  
mea, servavisti me. (Bacch. 879)

vel ego, qui dudum fili causa coeperam  
ego med exercui animi, quasi quid filius

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Langen, Beiträge zur Kritik u. Erklärung d. Pl. 335; Kämpf, l. c. 21.

meus deliquisset me erga (Ep. 389)<sup>86</sup>

o filia

mea, quom hanc video, mearum me absens miseriarum communes; (Rud. 742)

In the following example *meae* belongs to both nouns:

inscitiae  
meae et stultitiae ignoscas. (M. G. 542)

The possessive adjectives of the plural pronouns of the first and second persons occur naturally with much less frequency than *meus*, *tuos*, *suos*, and cases of separation are proportionately fewer. They are subject to fewer special regulations and conditions: they are not enclitics; metrical convenience does not affect their position so significantly; they are to be sure subject to the principle of pronominal attraction:<sup>87</sup>

saluto te, vicine Apollo, qui aedibus  
propinquos nostris accolis, venerorque te, (Bacch. 172)

tonstricem Suram  
novisti nostram? (Truc. 405)

qua re filiam  
credidisti nostram? (Ep. 597)

meritissimo eius quae volet faciemus, qui hosce amores  
nostros dispulsos compulit. (As. 737)

nam meus formidat animus, nostrum tam diu  
ibi desiderare neque redire filium. (Bacch. 237)

In these cases there is little to suggest the entity of individual verses. The possessive and its noun in every example but one bracket other words, and the word-group thus formed shows no respect for verse-unity. Such word-groups appear in very simple form in Altenberg's examples from early prose; in Plautus's verse—we may not here enquire into the causes—they are often

<sup>86</sup> Note also *ego*, *ego med*, *meus* at or near the beginning of successive verses.

<sup>87</sup> This does not happen to appear in our examples, but note Terence Haut. 711:

ut quom narret senex  
voster nostro esse istam amicam gnati, non credat tamen.

elaborate, as the last example above illustrates.<sup>88</sup> The significant fact is that in spite of the employment of such interlocked phrases the poet so seldom allows them to escape into the second verse. It is true that when the ordinary attributive escapes, verse-unity seems more often to reassert itself than when a possessive is separated, but such difference as there is, is accounted for by the relative frequency of the possessives, the unemphatic nature of most of them, and their metrical character, which draws some of them to the extremities of the verse. Inasmuch as *noster*, *voster* are subject only to the second of these influences, lack of emphasis may properly be regarded as the most important factor in the separation.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup> In the cases of *meus*, *tuos*, *suos*, usually the possessive is separated from its noun only by a verb (Aul. 733-734, Ps. 849-850). There are a few cases of more elaborate interlocking:

ad illum quae tuom  
perdidit, pessum dedit tibi filium unice unicum. (Bacch. 406)

Special effects are usually produced by such arrangements; an interesting case is

sicut tuom vis unicum gnatum tuae  
superesse vitae sospitem et superstitem, (As. 16)

Here the couplet is securely linked together by the connection between the noun of the first verse and the adjectives of the second; but as the connection is predicative, the unity of the second verse, reinforced by the sound- and sense-effect, is paramount; *tuae* is separated from *vitae*, and the separation also divides the group *tuae superesse vitae*, but if our conclusions above are correct, the weak force of *tuae* made the separation inoffensive to the Roman. Another interesting case is

quid ais? ecquam scis filium tibicinam  
meum amare? (Ps. 482)

The criss-cross *ecquam . . . filium tibicinam* | *meum* brings together the contrasted objects and suggests the father's indignation, while *meum* is too weak to interrupt seriously the unity of the verses except so far as it is already interrupted.

<sup>89</sup> The evidence does not suffice to include Greek influence as an additional factor. The ways of expressing the possessive idea in Greek are more varied, and the conditions inherent in the words are different from those of their Latin equivalents. The fragments of the New Comedy offer almost no parallels to the separation in Plautus. In Menander's (307 K.) τὸ γινῶθαι σουτὸν ἔστιν, ἀνὰ τὰ πράγματα | εἰδῆς τὰ σουτοῦ, the article with the pos-

## V.

These special conditions also affect many other pronominal adjectives, so that it is not surprising that, for example, the demonstrative pronouns in their adjectival usage are second, in frequency of separation, to the possessive adjectives. Again, however, the cases of separation, viewed with reference to the total number of occurrences of such adjectives, are extremely few. The fact that these words are pronominal as well as adjectival may in many cases have mitigated the separation; and the effect of Wackernagel's law and of the law of pronominal attraction, working either separately or in common, is very pronounced in many of our examples. The studies of Langen, Bach, Kämpf, Kellerhof, taken in connection with Wackernagel's different and broader point of view, explain the position not only of the demonstratives, but of the determinative, and of the indefinite *quis* and its derivatives. If these words find their natural habitat immediately after the introductory word of the sentence, and if the closeness of the adjectival relation is something much less binding than the operation of Wackernagel's law—as is quite evident—it is remarkable that cases of separation are so infrequent.

The examples that follow will show the pronominal word in close connection with the introductory word of the sentence; so *nunc* is immediately followed by *hoc*:

nunc hoc deferam  
argentum ad hanc, quam mage amo quam matrem meam. (Truc. 661)

possessive genitive may suggest an amplifying idea. I have not found any cases of *ἰμός*, *σός* thus separated. In Euripides, however, parallels occur, but they are less frequent than in Plautus; e. g. *γήμας τύραννον καὶ κασιγνήτους τέκνους* | *ἐμοῖς φυτεύων*; (Med. 877, possibly with emphasis on *ἐμοῖς*), *τήνδ' ἐμὴν κομίζομαι* | *λαβὼν ἀδελφὴν* (Iph. T. 1362), *οὐχὶ τὴν ἐμὴν* | *φονέα νομίζων χεῖρα* (Iph. T. 385), *ἰτῶσαν εἰς σὴν οὖν θεοῖς ἀγάλματι* | *γαίαν* (Iph. T. 1480). So, too, *σόν* . . . | *πρόσωπον* (Ion 925), *πατρός* | *τοῖμ' οὖ* (Ion 725, Med. 746), *φρένας* | *τὰς σάς* (Ion 1271), *τέκνα* . . . | *τὰμ'* (Med. 792), *τοῖσι σοῖς ἐναντίον* | *λόγουσιν* (Med. 1132). On the whole, inherent features of the Latin words are more likely to have been the dominant influences, although the agreement points to an inherited separability.

nomen Trinummo fecit. nunc hoc vos<sup>90</sup> rogat  
ut liceat possidere hanc nomen fabulam. (Trin. 20)<sup>91</sup>

In close association with *qui* or with *si*:

nam servom misi qui illum<sup>92</sup> sectari solet  
meum gnatum: is ipse hanc destinavit fidicinam. (Ep. 486)

hi qui illum dudum conciliaverunt mihi  
peregrinum Spartacum, (Poen. 769)

nimis ecastor facinus mirum est, qui illi conlubitum siet  
meo viro sic me insimulare falso facinus tam malum. (Amph. 858)

qui ad illum deferat  
meum erum, qui Athenis fuerat, qui hanc amaverat, (M. G. 131)

ut si illic concriminatus sit advorsum militem  
meus conservos, eam vidisse hic cum alieno oscularier, (M. G. 242)

nam si ille argentum prius  
hospes huc affert, continuo nos ambo exclusi sumus. (As. 360)  
edepol ne illic pulchram praedam agat, si quis illam invenerit  
aulam onustam auri; (Aul. 610)<sup>93</sup>

di tibi propitii sunt, nam hercle si istam semel amiseris  
libertatem, haud facile in eundem rusum restitues locum. (M. G. 701)

The regularity with which the separated noun in these and many other cases stands at the beginning of the second verse, with many words intervening between it and the pronominal adjective—a mystery followed by its solution—conveys the effect of a personal pronoun and an appositive—"him . . . my son," etc. Such interpretation may be purely subjective,<sup>94</sup> but in any case

<sup>90</sup> But A reads *vos hoc*.

<sup>91</sup> On this verse cf. Leo, *Bemerkungen über plautinische Wortstellung u. Wortgruppen* 430.

<sup>92</sup> *illum qui* P.

<sup>93</sup> Features reinforcing the unity of the verse are apparent in the previous example (*hospes huc*), and here particularly where *aulam onustam auri* are undoubtedly linked together by a unity of sound-effect: cf. Aul. 763, 617, 709, 809, 821.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Appuhn, l. c. 59. In a case like the following, the noun with its relative clause in the second verse seems to intensify the substantival effect of the demonstrative in the first verse:

"quam facile et quam fortunate evenit illi, obsecro,  
mulieri quam liberare volt amator." (Ep. 243)

Occasionally this effect is brought out explicitly:

em istic homo te articulatum concidit, senex,  
tuos servos. (Ep. 488)

the rather constant attraction of these pronominal words to the second place in the sentence, without regard to any association with the noun, was certainly the usage of the spoken language; it is, therefore, unlikely that there was any violence in the separation by the verse comparable to the division in English of "that . . . son of mine." Many pronominal adjectives seem to have an independent force, a closer affinity with other words than with their substantives: in any consideration of verse-unity they are almost non-existent.

In isolated cases the separated demonstrative appears in company with *nam* and *quid*; the indefinite *quis* and its derivatives are similarly connected with the introductory particle rather than with the noun:

nam is illius filiam  
coniecit in navem miles clam matrem suam, (M. G. 111)

quid hic<sup>86</sup> non poterat de suo  
senex obsonari filiai nuptiis? (Aul. 294)

sed speculabor ne quis aut hinc aut ab laeva aut dextera  
nostro consilio venator adsit cum auritis plagis. (M. G. 607)

nam cogitato, si quis hoc gnato tuo  
tuos servos faxit, qualem haberes gratiam? (Capt. 711)

nescio quid istuc negoti dicam, nisi si quispiam<sup>87</sup> est  
Amphitruo alius, (Amph. 825)

ibo in Piraeum, visam ecquae advenerit  
in portum ex Epheso navis mercatoria. (Bacch. 235)

ecquem  
recalvom ad Silanum senem, statutum, ventriosum, (Rud. 316)

Some examples have already illustrated the juxtaposition of pronominal words; in the following case (a lyrical passage) particles and pronouns are grouped together in a way that readers of Plautus will admit to be almost inevitable; if there is any violence in the separation of *istam*—which I doubt—it is easily

<sup>86</sup> Usually punctuated—*quid? hic* etc., but unnecessarily, I think; in any case the stress is on *quid*, and *hic* is not the first word of the sentence-unit, as the metre shows.

<sup>87</sup> There is, however, nothing regular in the collocation *si quispiam*: see the examples in Prehn, *Quaestiones Plautinae de pronomibus indefinitis* 7-8.



forgiven for the sake of *scelestam*, *scelus*, *linguam* and the division only brings into relief that phrase:

quid est? quo modo? iam quidem hercle ego tibi istam  
scelestam, scelus, linguam abscidam. (Amph. 556)

There are other examples of the demonstrative which have none of the attendant features illustrated above, but which for other reasons are hardly to be considered as disturbing the unity of the verse. Among these is a small group of cases in which the noun is in the first verse, and the demonstrative in the second verse is defined in a relative clause; thus the second verse simply amplifies the meaning of the noun in the first verse:

'immo apud trapezitam situm est  
illum quem dixi Lyconem,' (Cure. 345)

continuo arbitretur uxor tuo gnato atque ut fidicinam  
illam quam is volt liberare, quae illum corrumpit tibi,  
ulciscare atque ita curetur, usque ad mortem ut serviat. (Ep. 267)

oboluit marsuppium  
huic istuc quod habes. (Men. 384)

So, too, with *idem*:

duxit uxorem hic sibi  
eandem quam olim virginem hic compresserat, (Cist. 177)

There is, of course, no more separation in these cases than in<sup>97</sup>

sed optume eccum ipse advenit  
hospes ille, qui has tabellas attulit. (Pers. 543)

According to the earlier punctuation with a comma after *singularias*, the following verses would not concern us:

eis indito catenas singularias  
istas, maiores quibus sunt iuncti demito. (Capt. 112)

But Bach (Studemund-Stud. II 322) offers valid reasons for referring *istas* to the previous verse; such a separation is difficult to parallel, and Bach's examples are wide of the mark. There is, to be sure, a contrast suggested by the juxtaposition

<sup>97</sup> Or in

quid ais? tu nunc si forte eumpse Charmidem conspexeris  
illum quem tibi istas dedisse commemoras epistulas, (Trin. 950)

of *istas* and *maiores*, which may account for the separation, but it is certainly very vaguely suggested; the demonstrative, if it follows the noun and is in the second verse, is usually attended by features that more evidently justify separation:

quis istuc quaeso? an ille quasi ego?—is ipse quasi tu. (tum)senex  
ille quasi ego “ si vis,” inquit “ quattuor sane dato ” (St. 552)<sup>98</sup>

ei rei dies  
haec praestituta est, proxuma Dionysia?  
cras ea quidem sunt. (Ps. 58)

tu abduc hosce intro et una nutricem simul  
iube hanc abire hinc ad te. (Poen. 1147)

qua pro re argentum promisit hic tibi?—si vidulum  
hunc redegissem in potestatem eius, iuratust dare  
mihi talentum magnum argenti. (Rud. 1378)

Such analogies as there are to *istas* according to Bach's punctuation must be found in these examples: the contrast in *ille . . . ego, haec . . . cras*,<sup>99</sup> and the resumptive force of *hanc* and its proximity to *hinc*—all these features reinforce the unity of the verses; it may be doubted whether in the last example *hunc . . . eius* is a feature that has any bearing upon the separation of *hunc*: it is an unusual example (cf. Trin. 1123–4 according to Lindsay's Oxford text), and the nearest parallel to Bach's *istas* that I have found.

A few examples do not admit of grouping under characteristics common to any large number of cases:<sup>100</sup>

postremo, si dictis nequis perduci ut vera haec credas  
mea dicta, ex factis nosce rem. (Most. 198)

haec sunt atque aliae multae in magnis dotibus  
incommoditates sumptusque intolerabiles. (Aul. 532)

an te ibi vis inter istas vorsarier  
prosedas, pistorum amicas, (Poen. 265)

<sup>98</sup> The whole context should be read to get the play on *quasi ego* and *quasi tu*.

<sup>99</sup> Contrast with this verse a later reference in the same play:

nam olim quom abiit, argento haec dies  
praestitutast, quoad referret nobis, neque dum rettulit. (Ps. 623)

<sup>100</sup> Most. 618 should be included, if Leo's supplementary readings are correct.

mulier profecto natast ex ipsa Mora;  
 nam quaevis alia quae morast aequae, mora  
 minor ea videtur quam quae propter mulieremst. (M. G. 1292)

pro di immortales, similiorem mulierem  
 magisque eandem, ut pote quae non sit eadem, (M. G. 528)

In none of these is the separation violent; effective antithesis, long words grouped in one verse, alliteration, the combination of associated ideas—*ea . . . quae propter mulieremst*,<sup>101</sup> *eandem . . . eadem*—are compensating features, all of which testify to the individuality of the verse.

The freedom with which the relative is separated from its noun in Oscan and Umbrian (Norden, *Kunstprosa* I 181 n.; Altenburg, *De sermone pedestri Italicorum vetustissimo* 530) suggests that the relative adjective has an inherent separability; and in several of the cases there is some evidence of unity despite the separation:

nimis paene manest.—mane quod tu occeperis  
 negotium agere, id totum procedit diem. (Pers. 114)

ut in tabellis quos consignavi hic heri  
 latrones, ibus denuerem stipendium. (M. G. 73)

cui servitutem di danunt lenoniam  
 puero, atque eidem si addunt turpitudinem, (Ps. 767)

ita ut occepi dicere, illum quem dudum (e fano foras)  
 lenonem extrusisti, hic eius vidulum eccillum (tenet). (Rud. 1065)

di illum infelicient omnes, qui post hunc diem  
 leno ullam Veneri unquam immolarit hostiam, (Poen. 449)

qui hic litem apisci postulant peiurio  
 mali, res falsas qui impetrant apud iudicem, (Rud. 17)

quin tu tuam rem cura potius quam Seleuci, quae tibi  
 condicio nova et luculenta fertur per me interpretem. (M. G. 951)

ni hercle diffregeritis talos posthac quemque in tegulis  
 videritis alienum,<sup>102</sup> (M. G. 156)

qui omnes se amare credit, quaeque aspexerit  
 mulier:<sup>103</sup> eum oderunt qua viri qua mulieres. (M. G. 1391)

<sup>101</sup> This does not exhaust the effects: note *mora* at the ends of successive verses; and *mora* at the end of the second verse may be in close relation with *quaevis alia* of its own verse as well as with the next verse.

<sup>102</sup> Similarly, but without separation by the verse in

quemque a milite hoc videritis hominem in nostris tegulis, (M. G. 160)

<sup>103</sup> *Mulierem* B, *mulieres eum* CD.

The uniformity with which the separated substantive stands at the beginning of the second verse is rather striking: the mystery suggested by the anticipatory relatives makes its solution worthy of a prominent position; the resumptive pronoun in many cases makes the noun at home in its verse in spite of separation—*negotium . . . id, latrones . . . ibus, puero . . . eidem, lenonem . . . eius*; other evidence of unity is visible in the fact that *mali* (Rud. 18) belongs as much with the *qui* of its own verse as with the *qui* of the preceding verse,<sup>104</sup> and in the echo *mulier . . . mulieres* (M. G. 1392).<sup>105</sup>

Occasionally the interrogative adjective is similarly separated:

quem amplexa sum  
hominem? (M. G. 1345)

cuius ad aures  
vox mi advolavit? (Rud. 332)<sup>106</sup>

The indefinite adjectives, too, now and then appear in verses by themselves; such a separation of *nescio quis* from its noun hardly impairs verse-unity;<sup>107</sup> and cases of *aliquis* and *quisquam*,<sup>108</sup> by the very nature of the words, are inoffensive:

nam sibi laudavisse hasce ait architectonem  
nescio quem exaedificatas insanum bene. (Most. 760)

atque ego illi aspicio osculantem Philocomasium cum altero  
nescio quo adolescente. (M. G. 288)

si censes, coquom  
aliquem arripiamus, prandium qui percoquat (Merc. 579)

ego si allegavissem aliquem ad hoc negotium  
minus hominem doctum minusque ad hanc rem callidum, (Ep. 427)

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Leo, *Analecta Plautina: de figuris sermonis* I 20. The position of *mali* (18) and *bonos* (21), each at the beginning of its verse, brings out the contrast.

<sup>105</sup> For the repetition of *mulier* cf.

ecce ad me advenit  
mulier, qua mulier alia nullast pulchrior: (Merc. 100)

<sup>106</sup> Cui MSS. But the same or similar phrases usually occur without separation: Trin. 45, Curc. 229, Merc. 864.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Ter. Ad. 657–658.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Ter. Ad. 716–717.

peiozem ego hominem magisque vorsute malum  
numquam edepol quemquam vidi quam hic est Simia; (Ps. 1017)

neque ego taetriorẽ beluam  
vidisse me umquam quemquam quam te censeo. (Most. 607)

There are some noteworthy features: the balanced alliteration in Merc. 579-580; in Ep. 427 *aliquem* is really substantival, "somebody else," and the next verse a separable element; in the two cases of *quisquam*, the regular juxtaposition of words ending in *-quam* is illustrated.<sup>109</sup>

*Alter*,<sup>110</sup> when separated, is in effect an added idea:

at ego nunc, Amphitruo, dico: Sosiam servom tuom  
praeter me alterum, inquam, adveniẽs faciam ut offendas domi, (Amph. 612)

eho tu, quam vos igitur filiam  
nunc quaeritatis alteram? (Cist. 602)

The separation of *alterum* from *tantum* in the following couplet (omitted in A) is more violent; cf. the same phrase within the verse in Bacch. 1184, an anapestic passage, and in frag. 4 of the Caecus:

immo etiam si alterum  
tantum perdundumst, perclam potius quam sinam (Ep. 518)

So in this case of *tantulum*:

immo, Chrysale, em non tantulum  
unquam intermittit tempus quin eum nominet. (Bacch. 209)

It would be difficult to prove that any emphasis is attained by the position of these cretic words at the end of the verse and by their separation from the substantives, but the context in each case suggests considerable emphasis upon the adjectives.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>109</sup> This hardly needs further evidence, but to quote only one play, cf. Men. 192, 400, 447, 518, 613, 780, 959.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. the separation of *alius* in St. 449-450; Ter. And. 778-779 (*alia aliam*), Hec. 365-366, Ad. 52-53, in the last two cases preceding the noun.

<sup>111</sup> The inherent separability of these pronominal adjectives is confirmed by the same phenomena in Greek: cf. above, p. 215, and for the demonstratives Menander 567; Philemon 7; 58; Diphilus 30; 3; for *αὐτός* Menander 117-118; 580; 748; for *τις* Menander 325, 8; for *δοῦτος* Menander 393; for *τοσαῦτα* Menander 140; for *ἄλλος* Menander 535, 3.

VI.

The numerals, also, have an independent existence which may account for the cases of separation by the verse-end:

scelestiorem ego annum argento faenori  
numquam ullum vidi quam hic mihi annus optigit. (Most. 532)

verbum

nullum<sup>112</sup> fecit. (Bacch. 982)

ferat epistulas

duas, eas nos consignemus, quasi sint a patre: (Trin. 774)

ei filiae

duae erant, quasi nunc meae sunt; eae erant duobus nuptae fratribus,  
quasi nunc meae sunt vobis. (St. 539)

Alexandrum magnum atque Agathoclem aiunt maxumas  
duo res gessisse: quid mihi fiet tertio,  
qui solus facio facinora inmortalia. (Most. 775)

hic dico, in fanum Veneris qui mulierculas  
duas secum adduxit, (Rud. 128)

occepere aliae mulieres

duae post me sic fabulari inter sese (Ep. 236)

mulieres

duae innocentes intus hic sunt, tui indigentes auxili, (Rud. 641)

quia vos in patriam domum

rediisse video bene gesta re ambos, te et fratrem tuum. (St. 506)

tum captivorum quid ducunt secum! pueros, virgines,  
binos, ternos, alius quinque; (Ep. 210)

ubi saepe causam dixeris pendens advorsus octo  
artutos, audacis viros, valentis virgatores. (As. 564)

ubi saepe ad languorem tua duritia dederis octo  
validos lictores, ulmeis adfectos lentis virgis. (As. 574)

(atque) auditavi saepe hoc volgo dicier,  
solere elephantum gravidam perpetuos decem  
esse annos; (St. 167)

non quinquaginta modo,

quadringentos filios habet atque equidem lectos sine probro: (Bacch. 973)

<sup>112</sup> *Verbum nullum* without separation by the verse in Bacch. 785 (by emendation), Ter. Eun. 88. *Ullus*, with *neque* preceding, is separated in Ter. Ad. 85.

The last passage is from a canticum, and is ascribed by Leo to an amplificator. In the other examples some attendant features are worth noting. Respect for unity is shown in *duae—duobus* (St. 539), *duo—tertio* (Most. 775),<sup>113</sup> and in the isolation of adjectives and nouns in the second verse in the two examples from the *Asinaria*. In most of the cases the numeral follows the noun, or if it precedes the separation brings into prominence important elements (As. 564, 574, St. 168). A few cases of *omnes* are in place here:<sup>114</sup>

hariolos, haruspices

mitte omnes; (Amph. 1132)

quin edepol servos, ancillas domo  
certum est omnis mittere ad te. (Cas. 521)

deartuasti dilaceravisti atque opes  
confecisti omnes, res ac rationes meas: (Capt. 672 ap. Nonium)

ita res divina mihi fuit: res serias  
omnis extollo ex hoc die in alium diem. (Poen. 499)

Rhodum venimus, ubi quas merces vexeram  
omnis ut volui vendidi ex sententia: (Merc. 93)

servos pollicitust dare

suos mihi omnis quaestioni. (Most. 1087)

ubi ego omnibus

parvis magnisque miseriis praefulcior: (Ps. 771)

atque me minoris facio prae illo, qui omnium  
legum atque iurum fctor, conditor eluet; (Ep. 522)

fateor me omnium

hominum esse Athenis Atticis minimi preti. (Ep. 501)

The first six examples, in which the adjective follows in the second verse, involve no violation of verse-unity; the last three, however, are certainly, from an English standpoint, more destructive of unity. (Cf. also the separation of *tot* in Poen. 582.) It is likely that the adjective is more separable than the corresponding word in English: the evidence for this is found in the apparent separability of numerals in general, and

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Poen. 898.

<sup>114</sup> For *omnes* in Ter. cf. And. 77, 667, Eun. 1032. Similarly *complures*, Ter. Ad. 229 (cf. *plurimi* in Plautus, above, p. 237); *pauci*, Ter. Hec. 58; *aliquod*, Ter. Phor. 312. Cf. Norden, Aeneis Buch VI, 390.

in the usage of the corresponding words in Greek verse.<sup>115</sup> Certainly the explanation of the separation of numerals is more likely to be found in inherent qualities of the numerals as such than in such attendant features as the metrical convenience of the cretic *omnium* at the end of a verse.

## VII.

Proper and improper numerals, pronominal adjectives, and in particular possessive adjectives were separated without essential disturbance of verse-unity. This inherent separability seems to be proved not only by the treatment of these words in Plautus, but by the evidence furnished by early Latin prose, and by Greek prose and verse: the nature of the evidence suggests that this separability was an inherited trait. The operation of Wackernagel's law and of the law of pronominal attraction is a further manifestation of the looseness of the bond that binds pronominal adjectives to their nouns. The separation of possessive adjectives was probably promoted by the unemphatic nature of the words, which suffered a loss of their individuality. These conclusions do not differ essentially from those of Appuhn.

In the treatment of attributive adjectives, however, I hope that something has been gained by an attempt to interpret, within the limits set by the paper, the passages illustrating separation. We found that attributives following the noun and separated were regularly expressions of ideas ranging from predicative to amplifying, and the separation was usually attended by features that reinforced the unity of the verse. We found, too, that when the separated attributives preceded their nouns, although from an English standpoint the unity of the verse was

<sup>115</sup> For the ordinary numerals in Ter. cf. Eun. 332, Phor. 638, Ad. 46. For Greek examples cf. *εις*, *οὐδεὶς*, *μηδεὶς*, Menander 535, 3; 282; 382; 397; 128, 3; Philemon 4, 13; 28, 9; other numerals, Menander 7, 1; 357; 547–548; Philemon 12; 89, 7; *πᾶς*, Menander 13, 2; 173; *ὅλος*, Menander 67, 2; *πάντες*, *ἅπαντες*, Diphilus 17, 2; Philemon 91, 7; Menander 292, 4; 363, 7; 404, 7; 532, 1; *πολλά*, Menander 593. And for numerals in early Latin prose, cf. Altenburg, l. c. 524 ff.



impaired, there were almost always associations of sound or sense that reasserted the unity of the verse; more often the unity was apparent in the organization of the thought than in the superficial colligation resulting from sound-effects.

We may not always be confident that the resultant effects represent efficient causes: in the matter of alliteration this is especially true. The confinement, in most cases, of alliterative groups to a single verse attests the entity of the verse, but alliteration is seldom more than an incidental factor in separation: usually other and stronger factors appear along with alliteration.

Metrical convenience is evident in the position of some words, especially those of considerable length, cretic words, and the possessive adjectives of pyrrhic and iambic measurement: the position convenient for such words may have conduced to separation. Again, however, other factors are usually discernible.

Indeed, the total effect of a verse or couplet is a product of many factors: it is not easy to say that one is more important than another. But it seems to me noteworthy that in so large a number of separated attributives, the unity of the verse, if my interpretation is correct, is effected by internal organization rather than by superficial colligation. So much so that in cases like *mazumo* | *me opsecravisti opere, optuma* | *vos video opportunitate, tesseram* | *conferre si vis hospitem* I prefer to recognize the beginnings of a freer technique rather than admit metrical convenience and alliteration as really dominant factors in the separation.

Such cases are rare; nor may anybody deny the essential unity of verse, the practical identity of verse and thought, in the examples under discussion. The effect is often crudely simple, but in many cases the poet is far from being a clumsy craftsman; he shows no little competency in making verse-unity a means of bringing into effective relief associated thoughts and sounds; and occasionally he uses the beginning and the end of the same verse, the beginnings of successive verses, in ways that indicate a consciousness of the opportunities, not merely of the limitations, presented by verse-unity.

It is also significant that we can find so little positive proof of

the influence of his Greek sources:<sup>116</sup> he seems rather to be working out his own problems in the spirit of his own language, fashioning his verse with nice adjustment of sound-effects peculiar to Latin, often producing a neat balance or antithesis which has yet to be proved to result from a study of Greek rhetoric, and happily conserving, even within the limits set by verse-unity, the simpler forms of interlocked word-groups, which are as characteristic of the organizing power of the Roman mind as any phase of their political administration. These same word-groups, however, must sometimes break down the barriers, and *maxumo | me opsecravisti opere, optuma | vos video opportunitate, tesseram | conferre si vis hospitem* perhaps point the way which leads to greater freedom.

Only after further investigation is it safe to take the historical point of view and ask ourselves what is Plautus's precise position in the development of verse-technique. In the answer to that question we must not be too hasty in placing him near the beginning of art-poetry in Latin: the comic verse under discussion is the most capacious of the commoner forms of metre; and this verse conveyed the conversational Latin of the day to an audience that must catch at once the effects of sound and thought. Epic verse and tragedy were created under different conditions. Some of the simple directness of Plautus's verse is perhaps to be attributed to these conditions rather than to the chronological proximity of the Saturnian verse. But in the present paper we have been interested only in suggesting some

<sup>116</sup> Without further investigation of Greek technique the statement must remain in this vague form. It would be easy to find parallels from Euripides, and some cases from the New Comedy, of Plautus's postponement of adjectives and nouns to the beginning of the second verse, and of postponement for antithetical effects, but the running over of the thought to the caesura of the second verse, familiar to readers of Greek tragic poetry, is the exception rather than the rule in Plautus; nor are the features common to Greek and Plautine verse too hastily to be regarded as merely imitative in Latin verse, especially in the case of antithetical effects. Investigation, particularly of the technique of Aristophanes, Euripides, and the New Comedy, based upon sympathetic interpretation, must precede any more precise statement of Plautus's relation to his models in these respects.

ways of interpreting a small part of the evidence that bears upon the question which Leo has answered, forestalling the investigation of the subject in his admirable statement of the historical position of Plautus in this phase of verse-technique.

## INDEX.\*

- Accius 308 R<sup>3</sup>, 225 note.  
 Adespota, 10.  
 Ἀσκληπιοῦ Προξένου, given Athenian citizenship, 151.  
 Alcaeus, 2, 9.  
 Alcaic strophe (Horace), 175.  
 Aleman, 2, 9.  
 Amphictyons, Board of, 139.  
 Anacreon, 9.  
 Antigonis, established, 141.  
 Antigonis and Demetrias, abrogation of, 142.  
 Antipatros, archon, date of, 140, 153.  
 Archons, Athenian, chronological list, 132.  
 Ariphron, 34.  
 Arrheneides, archon, date of, 140, 153.  
 Asklepios, catalogue of dedications, 169; first dedication by the to, 147; priests of, chronological list, 131; priests of, official sequence, 144.  
 Athens, before Chremonidean War, 170; change of government in, 149; eleven tribes in, 142; fall of, 154; Macedonian money in, 147; reflections of magistrates, 139; war with Aratos, 158, 159.  
 Attalis, creation of, 142.  
 Attic coins, old style of abandoned, 148.  
 Bacchylides, 9; hiatus in, 1.  
 Bendis, duplication of cult, 157.  
 Bopp, F., influence on language study, 95.  
 Caccilius 221 R<sup>3</sup>, 222 note.  
 Charikles, archon, date of, 161.  
 Charinos, archon, date of, 150.  
 Chremonidean War, date of, 139, 170.  
 Cicero, Ad Att. ii, 18, 3, 57.  
   —Arch. 7, 17, 68.  
   —Caecil, 13, 43, 68 note.  
   Caecil, 19, 62, 68 note.  
   —Div. i, 24, 48, 212 note.  
   —Imp. Pomp. 17, 50, 68 note.  
   —Lael. 27, 104, 68.  
   —Mil. 27, 72, 68 note.  
   —Pis. 33, 81, 68 note.  
   —Prov. Cons. 14, 35, 68 note.  
   Prov. Cons. 20, 47, 68 note.  
   —Sulla 13, 38, 67.  
   Sulla 30, 83, 68 note.  
   —Tull. 15, 36, 68 note.  
   —Verr. ii, 1, 27, 70, 68 note.  
   Verr. ii, 1, 59, 154, 75.  
   Verr. ii, 2, 6, 15, 68 note.  
   Verr. ii, 2, 40, 99, 68 note.  
   Verr. ii, 3, 13, 32, 68 note.  
   Verr. ii, 3, 40, 91, 68 note.  
   Verr. ii 3, 72, 169, 68 note.  
   Verr. ii, 4, 51, 114, 68 note.  
 Clapp, E. B., Hiatus in Greek Melic Poetry, 1-34.  
 Comparative grammar, 95.  
 Concessive sentences, intensive, 40, 43, 44; simple, 37, 43, 44; with indicative apodosis, 66.  
 Concessive si-clauses, in Plautus, 35-49.  
 Conscription in Athens, abandonment of, 163.  
 Corinna, 3, 10.  
 Demetrias, established, 141.  
 Demetrias and Antigonis, abrogation of, 142.  
 Diagoras of Melos, 10.  
 Digamma, 2.  
 Digammated words, in Homer, 8; in other authors, 10; in Pindar, 3.  
 Diogeiton, archon, date of, 167.  
 Diomedon, archon, date of, 155.  
 Ekphantos, archon, date of, 159.  
 Eleven-syllable Alcaic (Horace), 175.  
 Elision, in Horace's Alcaic strophe, 192.  
 Ephebes in 305/4, 164, 170.  
 Ephebe lists, 162.  
 Ephebe system, made voluntary, 166.  
 Erinna, 10.  
 Etiam si, 45-46.  
 Etsi, 43-44.  
 Eubulos, archon, date of, 149, 169.  
 Εὐκλείδης Ἀλαεῖς, priest of Asklepios, 146.  
 Ferguson, W. S., The Priests of Asklepios (A new Method of Dating Athenian Archons), 131-173.  
 Glaukippos, archon, date of, 156.

\* Univ. Calif. Publ. Class. Phil., Vol. 1.

# Index.

- Grimm, J., influence on language study, 95.
- Hiatus, after a diphthong or long vowel, 14-32; after a short vowel, 32-34; apparent, 3-14; in Bacchylides, 1; in Greek Melic Poetry, 1-34; in Homer, 1, 2; in Pindar, 1; (inter-verse), 192; relative frequency in Greek authors, 2.
- Historical grammar, 96.
- Homer, 27; digammated words in, 5; hiatus in, 1.
- Horace, Alcaic strophe in, 175.
- Horace, Carm. i, 1, 2, 119; 1, 27, 119; 2, 9, 119; 3, 22, 119; 3, 24, 119; 3, 30, 119; 4, 1, 120; 4, 5, 120; 7, 7, 120; 7, 15, 120; 7, 16, 120; 8, 10, 120; 8, 14, 120; 11, 2, 120; 11, 5, 120; 11, 7, 120; 12, 3, 120; 13, 12, 120; 16, 8, 120; 22, 17, 120; 22, 21, 120; 24, 2, 120; 26 (whole ode), 124; 26, 2, 120; 26, 6, 120; 28 (whole ode), 124; 28, 2, 121; 28, 5, 121; 28, 7, 121; 28, 16, 121; 28, 18, 121; 28, 19, 121; 31, 8, 121; 34 (whole ode), 124; 34, 2, 121; 34, 5, 121; 23, 12, 121;
- Carm. ii, 1, 17, 121; 1, 30, 121; 3, 1, 122; 3, 12, 122; 6, 14, 122; 6, 21, 122; 7, 18, 122; 8, 10, 122; 9, 3, 122; 10, 9, 122; 10, 18, 122; 11, 13, 122; 13, 13, 122; 14, 11, 122; 14, 15, 122; 14, 18, 122; 14, 21, 122; 16 (whole ode), 124; 16, 2, 122; 16, 9, 122; 16, 13, 122; 16, 17, 122; 16, 19, 122; 16, 22, 123; 18, 1, 123; 20, 21, 123;
- Carm. iii, 1, 10, 123; 1, 41, 123; 2, 29, 123; 3, 49, 123; 11, 19, 123; 17, 12, 123; 27, 10, 123; 28 (whole ode), 124; 28, 4, 123;
- Carm. iv, 3 (whole ode), 129; 3, 4, 128; 3, 18, 124, 128; 3, 22, 128; 4, 13, 128; 4, 24, 128; 4, 63, 128; 5, 29, 128; 7, 9, 128; 7, 14, 125, 128; 9, 5, 128; 9, 25, 128; 10 (whole ode), 128; 11, 6, 128; 11, 11, 128; 13, 20, 128; 14, 6, 128; 14, 28, 128;
- Carmen Saeculare, 127.
- Epode 2, 7, 118; 2, 13, 118; 2, 23, 118; 2, 41, 118; 2, 46, 118; 4, 14, 118; 6, 6, 118; 9, 1, 119; 9, 29, 119; 11, 2, 119; 13, 14, 119; 14, 13, 119; 16, 31, 119; 16, 48, 119; 16, 54, 119; 17, 66, 119;
- Sat. i, 1, 13, 111; 1, 23, 111; 1, 25, 111; 1, 28, 112; 1, 50, 112; 1, 64, 112; 1, 68, 112; 1, 70, 112; 1, 98, 112; 1, 117, 112; 1, 121, 113; 2, 8, 113; 2, 32, 113; 2, 56, 113; 2, 104, 113; 2, 119; 113; 2, 133, 113; 3, 14, 113; 3, 26, 113; 3, 38-52, 113; 3, 40, 114; 3, 45, 114; 3, 56, 114; 3, 66, 114; 3, 98, 114; 3, 98-112, 114; 3, 99, 114; 3, 100, 114; 3, 101, 114; 3, 103, 114; 3, 105, 114; 3, 108, 114; 3, 109, 114; 3, 110, 114; 3, 111, 114; 3, 112, 114; 4, 76, 115; 4, 87, 115; 4, 105, 115; 4, 106, 115; 5, 73, 115; 5, 101, 115; 5, 102, 115; 6, 4, 115; 6, 18, 115; 8, 10, 115; 8, 46, 115; 9, 24, 115; 9, 34, 115; 10, 49, 115;
- Sat. ii, 1, 17, 116; 1, 25, 116; 1, 52, 116; 1, 77, 116; 2, 17, 116; 2, 28, 116; 2, 83, 116; 2, 88, 116; 2, 104, 116; 2, 105, 116; 3, 49, 116; 3, 91, 117; 3, 95, 116; 3, 141, 117; 3, 153, 117; 3, 191, 117; 3, 193, 117; 3, 199, 117; 3, 200, 117; 3, 269, 117; 3, 283, 117; 4, 90, 117; 4, 94, 117; 6, 1, 117; 6, 59, 117; 6, 61, 117; 6, 101, 117, 126; 7, 28, 117; 7, 49, 117; 7, 81, 118; 7, 90, 118; 7, 105, 118; 8, 51, 118; 8, 75, 118;
- Epist. i, 1, 18, 124; 1, 42, 124; 1, 52, 124; 1, 65, 124; 1, 82, 124; 2, 31, 124; 2, 40, 124; 2, 47, 124; 2, 54, 114, 125; 2, 56, 125; 3, 19, 125; 4, 16, 125; 6, 1, 125; 6, 3, 125; 6, 4, 125; 6, 11, 125; 6, 24, 125; 6, 27, 125; 7, 8, 125; 7, 24, 125; 7, 77, 125; 7, 84, 125; 8, 12, 125; 10, 7, 125; 11, 10, 125; 11, 21, 126; 11, 27, 126; 11, 29, 126; 12, 2, 126; 12, 13, 126; 12, 15, 126; 12, 16, 126; 14, 8, 126; 14, 12, 126; 14, 13, 126; 14, 14, 126; 14, 22, 126; 14, 26, 124, 126; 14, 35, 126; 18, 9, 126; 18, 71, 126; 18, 108, 126; 19, 21, 126; 19, 44, 126;

# Index.

- Epist ii, 1, 8, 127; 1, 11, 127; 1, 13, 127; 1, 101, 127; 2, 32, 127; 2, 58, 127; 2, 125, 127; 2, 135, 127; 2, 138, 127; 2, 151, 127; 2, 159, 127; 2, 175, 127; 2, 207, 127; 2, 213, 127;  
—Ars Poetica, 49, 129; 61, 129; 70, 129; 111, 129; 173, 129; 359, 129; 393, 129; 467, 129;  
Ibycus of Rhegium, 10.  
Ictus, in Horace's Alcaic strophe, 193.  
Indefinite 2nd singular, 82.  
Indo-European languages, 95.  
Inscriptiones Graecae ii, 310, 151;  
ii, Add. Nov. 373 b, 138, 140;  
ii, Add. Nov. 567 b, 140; ii, 766, 138, 145; ii, Add. Nov. 766 b, 145; ii, 767, 145; ii, 835, 146, 148; ii, 836, 138; ii, 859, 167; ii<sup>a</sup>, 178 b, 138; ii<sup>b</sup>, 251 b, 164; ii<sup>c</sup>, 371 c, 166; ii<sup>d</sup>, 373 c, 158; ii<sup>e</sup>, 385 e, 496 c, and ii Add. 453 b, 168.  
Isaios, archon, date of, 141.  
Jason, archon, date of, 154.  
Junggrammatiker, 103.  
Kallimedes, archon, date of, 155.  
Kimon I, archon, date of, 159, 166.  
Kimon II, archon, date of, 159, 166.  
Kleanthes, headship of, 154.  
Κλερυ[ένης], secretary in 276/5, 149.  
Kleomachos, archon, date of, 155.  
Lucretius, Book i, 8, 122, 128; 14, 128; 19, 126; 36, 112; 72, 126; 74, 121; 84-100, 117; 127, 126; 138, 129; 200, 119; 211, 112; 228, 117; 257, 122; 259, 118; 275, 122; 276, 121; 305, 120; 311, 116; 318, 128; 326, 120; 414, 116; 422, 114; 474, 119; 639, 127; 641, 127; 656, 121; 680, 118; 923, 119; 926, 126; 927, 121-122; 928, 117, 120; 929, 115; 936, 111; 947, 127; 1031, 121; 1114, 125;  
Book ii, 1, 125; 7, 123; 8, 122; 10, 116; 11, 123; 17, 116; 27, 123; 29, 118; 30, 122, 126; 34, 123, 124; 37, 122; 39, 127; 49, 123; 50, 118; 264, 126; 314, 117, 128; 413, 122; 430, 118; 582, 117; 636, 120; 643, 119; 646, 115; 703, 116; 831, 117; 918, 121; 927, 112; 1031, 121; 1040, 125; 1104, 123; 1167, 129; 1170, 125; 1172, 117;  
Book iii, 2, 118, 128; 4, 117, 126; 21, 128; 36, 128; 62, 122; 65, 124; 69, 115; 71, 121; 218, 112; 371, 113; 424, 112; 449, 115; 481, 111; 569, 127; 581, 123; 785, 119; 830, 129; 847, 125; 871, 117; 894, 122; 897, 119; 904, 126; 915, 120; 938, 112, 127; 939, 113, 126; 941, 113; 955, 123; 959, 113; 962, 126, 127; 969, 129; 971, 127; 981, 112; 992, 122; 1003, 113; 1025, 117, 125, 128; 1026, 116; 1027, 118, 121; 1028, 115; 1034, 116; 1035, 122; 1037, 128, 129; 1038, 129; 1045, 127; 1049, 120; 1052, 117; 1058, 124; 1059, 126; 1060, 125; 1063, 117, 118, 125; 1066, 117; 1067, 126; 1068, 123, 126; 1071, 124; 1082, 116; 1085, 122; 1090, 128;  
Book iv, 304 (329), 127; 376, 129; 378, 120; 450, 116; 458, 115; 460, 122; 509, 127; 548, 120; 571, 120; 576, 119; 582, 124, 128; 712, 129; 789, 115; 802, 113; 867, 117; 1005, 115; 1023, 127; 1034, 118; 1071, 113; 1080, 116; 1109, 120; 1129, 113; 1155-1169, 113; 1156, 114; 1162, 114; 1177, 118; 1198, 119; 1282, 115;  
Book v, 1, 125; 10, 121; 37, 127; 82, 115; 83, 125; 203, 119; 204, 120; 206, 126; 220, 122; 251, 118; 256, 119, 121; 259, 115; 272, 119; 326, 114, 120, 128; 381, 121; 386, 128; 409, 128; 727, 120; 737, 120, 128; 746, 120; 782, 129; 821, 114; 839, 126; 864, 119; 936, 118; 939, 114; 951, 125; 962, 114; 963, 114; 979, 126; 1007, 112; 1034, 116; 1044, 126; 1057, 114; 1084, 123; 1085, 125; 1108, 114; 1110, 127; 1113, 123, 124; 1114, 116; 1118, 122; 1119, 121; 1127, 121, 122; 1144, 114; 1151, 114; 1204, 125; 1213, 117; 1218, 125; 1230, 127; 1276, 115; 1283, 114; 1429, 113; 1454, 125;  
Book vi, 17, 114, 125; 25, 125; 27, 116; 50, 115; 58, 115; 111, 120; 129, 115; 152, 115; 202, 128; 247, 121; 259, 120; 400,

# Index.

- 121; 421, 122; 429, 122; 608, 126; 1114, 119; 1143, 120; 1149, 129; 1187, 117; 1222, 118;
- Λυσανία[s Me]λι[τεύς], priest of Asklepios, 149, 169.
- Λυσίδεος Τρικυρόντιος, priest of Asklepios, 145.
- Lysanias, archon, date of, 140.
- Lysiades, archon, date of, 140.
- Lysias, archon, date of, 159.
- Melanippides of Melos, 10.
- Merrill, W. A., On the Influence of Lucretius on Horace, 111-129.
- Mesogeia, importance of in 3rd century, B.C., 160.
- Mesogeia, Κοινὸν τῶν Μεσογείων, 161, 162.
- Mirari (mirum), in apodosis, 86-87.
- Mixture in language, 106.
- Nine-syllable Alcaic (Horace), 184.
- Nutting, H. C., Studies in the Si-Clause, 35-94.
- Official order, break in, 142.
- Olbios, archon, date of, 161.
- Ὀνήτωρ Μελιτεύς, priest of Asklepios, 146.
- Πάτακος, priest of Asklepios, 145.
- Peiraieus, decline of, 157.
- Phaidrias, archon, date, 167.
- Phaidros of Sphettos, politics of, 150.
- Philippos, archon, date of, 150.
- Φιλοχάρης Ὀαθεύς, priest of Asklepios, 146.
- Philoxenus of Cythera, 10.
- Phonetics, 98.
- Pindar, digammated words in, 4.
- Pindar, diphthongs and long vowels in hiatus, 15.
- Pindar, hiatus in, 1.
- Plautus. Amphitruo, v. 21, 44; 134, 245 (note 82); 135, 245 (note 82); 313, 94 (note 52); 336, 58; 391-92, 93; 450, 42, 71, 72 (note 27); 88, 480, 213; 498, 210; 556-57, 252; 612-13, 256; 621, 78 (note 33); 675, 50 (note 2); 701, 92 (note, 94); 703, 51, 83; 704, 223 (note 37); 705, 84 (note 40); 819, 234; 825-26, 251; 849, 93 (note 50); 858-59, 250; 880-81, 78, 80; 891-92, 57; 908, 37; 947-48, 61, 62; 977, 44; 980-81, 210; 1048, 40, 88; 1051, 41; 1063-64, 236; 1070, 213; 1107-9, 223; 1132-33, 258;
- Asinaria, v. 16-17, 245 (note 83), 284 (note 88); 81, 233 (note 52); 111-13, 244; 112, 243, 245 (note 83); 120-21, 84 (note 40); 153, 41 (note 4); 212, 213 (note 13); 164, 55; 193, 93; 210-13, 223 (note 35); 237, 41 (note 4); 241-42, 83; 248, 234, 318, 40, 66; 360-61, 250; 386, 243; 387, 245 (note 82); 403, 36; 405, 40, 88; 413, 40; 414-15, 47, 71, 72, 88; 424-26, 223 (note 35); 434, 245 (note 82); 470, 229; 528-29, 77; 536-38, 92; 564-65, 257, 258; 574-75, 257, 258; 589-90, 52; 603, 38; 699, 59, 60; 720, 94; 737-38, 247; 744, 86 (note 43); 763, 240, 241 (note); 781-82, 223 (note 35); 785, 245 (note 83); 878, 55; 894, 41 (note 4); 920-21, 219 (note 27); 933, 38, 66;
- Aulularia, v. 12, 233 (note 58); 16-17, 233; 21-22, 218, 233 (note 58); 30, 233 (note 58); 70, 209; 75, 222 (note 34); 77-78, 224; 98, 40; 100, 41, 47; 114-15, 223 (note 35); 162, 220; 172-73, 220; 195, 236 (note 65); 209, 80; 226-27, 221; 228, 50 (note 2); 247, 85 (note 42); 254, 38; 276, 222 (note 34); 289, 245 (note 82); 294-95, 251; 311, 41 (note 4); 61, 60; 320, 50 (note 2); 368, 236 (note 65); 380-81, 83 (note); 421, 43; 489-90, 226; 498-99, 224; 523-24, 51; 532-33, 253; 534-35, 221; 555, 40, 69; 557, 55; 610-11, 250; 617, 250 (note 93); 620-21, 78 (note 33); 649-50, 223; 709, 250 (note 93); 733-34, 244, 245 (note 83), 248 (note 88); 763, 250 (note 93); 768, 44; 776, 93 (note 50); 809, 250 (note 93); 821, 250 (note 93); Frag. 3, 209 (note 5);
- Bacchides, v. 35, 92 (note), 94 (also note 51); 41, 236 (note 65); 128, 40, 47, 66, 70; 172-73, 247; 179, 38, 68 (note 23); 209-210, 256; 230, 212, 213 (note 13); 235-36, 251; 237-38, 247; 279-80, 211, 224 (note 39); 364, 39; 365, 38; 395, 236 (note 65); 406-7, 243, 245

# Index.

- (note 83), 248 (note 88); 426, 84 (note 39); 440-41, 82; 447-48, 85; 479-80, 56; 529, 80; 563, 64; 590, 212, 213 (note 13); 635, 51; 678, 86 (note 43); 697, 40, 47, 69; 698, 86; 731-32, 91; 777, 245 (note 83); 785, 257 (note); 818-19, 61, 62; 842-43, 246; 879-80, 246; 880, 245 (note 82); 882, 212; 885, 40; 887, 38; 901, 243 (note 78); 913, 84; 934, 212, 213 (note 13); 941-42, 225; 973-74, 257, 258; 982-83, 257; 1004, 42, 47, 71, 88; 1101-11, 212; 1013, 38; 1022, 227; 1026, 212; 1045, 40, 66; 1102, 40; 1151, 79; 1160, 43; 1172, 60 (note 12); 1184-85, 93, 256; 1191, 43; 1193, 38, 50 (note 2);
- Boeotia, Frag. 1, v. 4-5, 226;
- Caecus, Frag. 4, 256.
- Captivi, v. 12, 37; 27-28, 52, 77, 80 (note); 82-83, 219; 98-99, 224; 100-01, 76; 112-13, 252; 116, 84; 140, 244; 141, 245 (note 82); 150, 226; 159-60, 230; 169, 208; 179-80, 230; 202, 82; 206, 58; 221, 82; 223, 38; 259-60, 59; 321, 44; 417-18, 73 (note); 421-22, 240; 529, 41 (note 4); 531-32, 236; 543, 43; 599, 91, 92 (note), 94; 609-10, 222; 612, 90; 613, 92 (note); 618, 80; 632, 236 (note 65); 665-66, 229 (also note 50); 672-73, 258; 683-84, 38, 88; 711-12, 52, 251; 742, 38; 744, 43; 842, 43; 850, 59; 854, 44; 873-75, 207, 245 (note 82); 906, 59; 996, 86; 1034, 223 (note 37);
- Casina, v. 93, 40; 255, 225 (note 44); 262-64, 226; 269, 93, 94; 279-80, 243 (note 80); 298, 38; 309, 225 (note 44); 314, 38, 66; 324, 41 (note 4); 335, 61; 345, 94 (note 52); 357-58, 89, 90; 440-41, 61, 62; 521-22, 258; 528-29, 57, 60; 540, 75; 542, 75; 591, 80; 668, 86; 721, 82; 742-43, 86; 767-68, 211, 218; 795, 46; 806, 45 (note), 78 (note 33), 89; 811, 65 (note); 957, 43, 46 (note 12), 47; 992-93, 235, 236; 1006, 223 (note 37).
- Cistellaria, v. 3, 40, 52; 27, 37, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71; 33, 84; 67, 38; 98-99, 243 (note 80); 123-24, 238; 152, 38, 73; 158-59, 207; 177-78, 252; 183-84, 76; 184, 76, 245 (note 83); 308, 53; 321, 90, 91; 513-15, 223 (note 35); 523-33, 228 (note 48); 544, 243 (note 78); 547, 243, 245 (note 83); 552-53, 238; 586, 245 (note 82); 600, 242 (also note 76); 601, 245 (note 82); 602-03, 256; 609-10, 244; 651-52, 79; 682, 81 (note); 683, 51 (note 4); 734, 86 (note 45); 772, 245 (note 83);
- Curculio, v. 3, 42; 78, 233 (note 59); 142, 85 (note 42); 145, 90; 186, 60; 211, 40; 226, 52, 56; 229, 255 (note 106); 246-47, 54; 259, 44; 265, 86, 87 (note 46); 268-69, 53; 299, 59; 303, 89, 90; 321, 86; 345-46, 252; 347, 245 (note 82); 351, 89; 382, 210; 420-21, 238; 429-31, 237; 430, 245 (note 82); 439-40, 212; 449, 42, 72, 73; 490-91, 240; 504, 44; 630, 246; 648-49, 219; 668, 241; 701, 79; 709, 241;
- Epidicus, v. 141-42, 225; 158, 220 (note 58); 202-03, 237; 210-211, 257; 236-37, 257; 243-44, 250 (note 94); 256, 225 (note 44); 267-69, 252; 279-80, 245 (note 83), 246; 313, 210; 341, 220 (note 28); 389-91, 237 (note 67), 245 (note 82), 247; 401, 245 (note 82); 427-28, 255, 256; 451-52, 86 (note 43); 480-81, 243 (note 80); 482, 245 (note 82); 486-87, 250; 488-89, 250 (note 94); 501-02, 258; 518, 45, 256; 522-23, 258; 543, 90; 559-60, 214 (note 15); 583, 245 (note 82); 597-98, 247; 599, 38, 93 (note 50); 610, 42, 71, 72, 73, 88; 639-40, 231; 641-42, 257; 674, 82; 706-07, 210 (note 8);
- Frivolaria, Frag. 8, 209 (note 6).
- Menaechmi, v. 18, 213; 26, 213; 40, 213; 68, 213; 69, 213; 92, 44; 103, 82; 142, 80; 192, 256 (note 109); 195, 65 (note); 232, 213; 238, 40, 73; 289-90, 225; 384-85, 252; 400, 256



# Index.

- (note 109); 402, 211; 417-18, 79; 420, 245 (note 83); 447, 256 (note 109), 480, 243, 245 (note 83); 487, 211, 222; 518, 245 (note 83), 256 (note 109); 566, 80; 576, 85 (note 42); 613, 256 (note 109); 670, 38; 740, 245 (note 83); 746, 35, 38; 751, 40, 47; 760, 59; 780, 256 (note 109); 844, 94 (also note 51); 862-63, 220; 959, 256 (note 109); 1048-49, 79; 1060, 42, 89; 1082, 213; 1088-90, 231 (note 53); 1102-03, 213; 1120, 213; 1125, 213; 1132-33, 240 (note 73);
- Mercator, v. 93-94, 258; 100-01, 255 (note 165); 124-25, 223 (note 35); 155-56, 80; 206, 226; 262-63, 230; 298-99, 85; 419, 91, 92 (note); 430, 57; 445, 85; 497, 59; 517, 55; 564, 94 (note 52); 578, 94 (note 52); 579-80, 255, 256; 595, 42, 72; 622, 78; 636, 38; 650-51, 60; 692-93, 59; 694, 42, 73; 744, 85 (note 42); 817-18, 219; 819, 38; 838, 40; 841, 66, 67, 68, 71; 852-54, 223 (note 35); 864, 255 (note 106); 890, 92; 907-08, 93; 941, 78 (note 33); 964, 237;
- Miles Gloriosus, v. 9-10, 211; 52-53, 64, 66 (note); 56-57, 211; 73-74, 254; 75, 235; 88, 211; 111-12, 251; 131-32, 52, 65 (note), 250; 156-57, 254; 160, 254 (note 102); 188, 40; 203-05, 223; 226, 225 (note 44); 238, 213; 242-43, 250; 288-89, 255; 293, 61; 298, 38; 306, 38; 383, 213; 391, 213; 407, 43; 441-42, 213 (note 14); 450-52, 232; 473-74, 214; 475-76, 61, 62; 502-03, 211; 508, 222, 225; 528-29, 254; 532, 43; 542-43, 245 (note 82), 247; 551-52, 231; 563-64, 245 (note 83), 246; 571, 60, 61, 66 (note); 607-08, 251; 631, 37, 38; 635, 245 (note 83); 642, 220; 673, 82; 685-86, 58; 687-88, 225, 228; 701-702, 250; 717, 213; 738-39, 243 (note 80); 744, 44; 747, 38; 763-64, 53, 240; 799, 245 (note 83); 803-04, 40, 73; 947, 84; 951-52, 254; 974-75, 213; 979, 227, 228; 1111-12, 65 (note); 1125-26, 227; 1158, 78, 80; 1200, 227; 1207-08, 78; 1209, 46; 1218, 223 (note 37); 1233, 209 (note 7); 1262, 64; 1263, 59; 1287-88, 225; 1292-94, 254; 1345-46, 255; 1356-57, 62; 1391-92, 254, 255; 1417, 94 (note 52); 1429, 86 (note 43);
- Mostellaria, v. 42, 37; 56-57, 60; 115-40; 198-99, 253; 229, 42, 89; 241-42, 42, 73; 351, 41, 42, 56; 361, 210; 393, 89; 420-21, 235, 236; 462, 56; 501-04, 227 (note); 532-33, 257; 580, 93, 94; 607-08, 256; 609, 43 (note); 610, 43 (note); 618, 253 (note 100); 637, 242; 638, 245 (note); 666, 43 (note); 670, 242; 752, 235; 760-61, 255; 775-77, 236, 257, 258; 827-38, 78; 854, 43; 912, 40; 913, 210; 914, 38; 931, 221; 983, 226; 997, 242; 998, 245 (note 82); 1087-88, 244 (note 82), 258, 245; 1093, 94 (note 52); 1167, 46;
- Persa, v. 39, 244; 40, 42, 66; 43, 234; 44, 78 (note 33); 99-100, 222; 105-06, 220, 227; 110-11, 220 (note 29); 114-15, 254; 117-18, 234; 157-58, 219; 272, 43; 282, 42; 362, 44; 438, 212 (note 12); 449-50, 82; 474-75, 223; 512, 233 (note 57); 526, 212 (note 12); 543-44, 252; 571-73, 223 (note 35); 594-95, 62, 63, 64; 601, 43; 611, 80; 612-13, 92; 655, 43; 724, 90; 825, 80;
- Poenulus, v. 12, 75; 51, 38; 59, 208; 83-84, 208; 89-90, 226; 163, 244; 164, 245 (note 82); 165-66, 212; 191-92, 245 (note 82), 246; 207-08, 80; 212-13, 83; 226-27, 236 (note 65); 265-66, 253; 330, 89; 342, 44; 351, 56; 374, 38; 406-07, 238 (note 68); 418-20, 223 (note 35); 449-50, 230 (note), 254; 472-75, 209; 499-500, 258; 516-17, 54, 74; 550, 58, 63; 582, 258; 615-16, 220, 227, 635-36, 82, 83; 670, 212; 699-700, 233 (note 59); 705, 210; 707, 89, 90; 713-14, 212, 213 (note 13); 721-22, 92; 728, 90; 729, 60; 732, 212; 769-70,

# Index.

- 250; 793, 210; 812-13, 82, 83;  
864, 56; 896, 239 (note 70);  
898, 258 (note 113); 906, 240;  
921, 59; 958, 226; 963, 208;  
964, 240; 988-89, 237; 997,  
208; 1047-48, 80, 226; 1052,  
227; 1063-64, 79 (note 35);  
1080, 222; 1084, 43, 46 (note  
12); 1085, 60; 1102, 240;  
1104-05, 238; 1124, 208; 1147-  
48, 254; 1162-63, 89; 1192, 84;  
1201, 44; 1249, 89, 92 (note);  
1251-52, 51; 1259-61, 223  
(note 35), 240; 1346, 239  
(note 70); 1375, 245 (note  
82); 1377, 208; 1387, 246;  
1391-92, 77;  
—Pseudolus, v. 27-28, 218; 51, 208;  
58-60, 253; 85-86, 234; 87, 42;  
112-13, 243 (note 80); 244,  
44; 264, 42; 285, 62; 286, 92  
(note), 94; 290, 35, 38; 291,  
66; 294-95, 234 (note); 346,  
208; 430-31, 219 (note 26);  
433, 86, 87 (note 46); 460-61,  
229; 471, 44; 482-83, 245  
(note 82), 248 (note 88);  
499, 62 (note 14); 514, 94;  
616, 208; 623-24, 253; 626, 45;  
650, 245 (notes 82 and 84);  
697-98, 211, 221; 724, 211;  
732-33, 234; 740, 59, 91; 749,  
86; 756-57, 219; 767-68, 254;  
771-72, 258; 783, 239 (note  
70); 792, 42, 73; 794, 241;  
823-24, 207; 849-50, 245 (note  
82), 248 (note 88); 897, 235;  
960-62, 232; 974, 211; 976,  
86; 997, 86; 998-99, 218;  
1017-18, 256; 1033, 50 (note  
2); 1040-41, 208; 1070, 51;  
1090, 208; 1113, 43; 1148, 77;  
1152, 208; 1162-63, 208, 209;  
1241-42, 62;  
—Rudens, v. 17-18, 254, 255 (note  
104); 21, 255 (note 104); 39,  
220; 71, 223 (note 37); 74-75,  
219; 115-16, 220 (note 28);  
125, 211; 128-29, 257; 158,  
226; 159, 28, 72; 162-63, 219;  
313, 211; 316-20, 211, 251; 329,  
79 (note 35); 332-33, 255;  
369-70, 219; 372-73, 209, 224;  
379, 65 (note); 421-22, 209  
(note 6), 224; 472, 92 (note),  
94 (note 52); 478, 211 (note);  
516, 227; 535, 90; 552, 86  
(note 44); 566, 55, 56, 63;  
680, 86 (note 44); 685-86, 219  
(note 27); 721, 94; 742-43,  
245 (note 82), 247; 744, 51  
(note 4); 810-11, 224; 890-91,  
79, 80 (note); 1014, 38, 40,  
89; 1020, 57; 1044, 43; 1065-  
66, 230 (note), 254; 1075, 38;  
1079, 243 (note 78); 1085-86,  
92 (note); 1138-39, 92 (note);  
1156-57, 211 (note); 1158-59,  
211, 224; 1235-36, 237; 1274,  
92 (note), 94 (note 52); 1311,  
74 (note 52), 92 (note); 1350,  
43; 1353, 35, 38, 39; 1361, 40;  
1378-80, 253; 1392, 245 (note  
83); 1400, 37, 45;  
—Stichus, v. 27, 46; 41, 44; 43,  
38, 66; 71, 227; 112, 50 (note  
2); 151-52, 78 (note 33); 167-  
69, 257, 258; 171-72, 59; 205,  
44; 248, 235; 287, 40, 42 (note  
7); 416, 244, 245 (note 83);  
449-50, 220, 256 (note 110);  
450 a, 221 (note 31); 451, 221  
(note 31); 506-07, 257; 510-  
11, 51; 512-13, 64, 65; 539-41,  
257, 258; 552-53, 253; 563, 62;  
739, 223 (note 37); 740-41, 79  
(note 35);  
—Trinummus, v. 20-21, 250; 26-27,  
60; 45, 255 (note 106); 85, 38,  
56; 98, 75; 109-110, 243 (note  
80); 113, 220; 110-20, 78;  
141, 245 (note 84); 148, 75;  
152, 212; 194, 221; 347-48, 83  
(note); 349, 82; 383, 43; 414-  
15, 82, 84 (note 39); 435-36,  
238; 465, 38; 474, 43; 485,  
38; 487, 68 (note 23); 493-94,  
228; 507, 38; 516-17, 80; 527,  
43; 531-32, 76, 77; 538, 86  
(note 43); 557-58, 59; 566,  
62; 593, 43; 600, 43; 607, 38;  
679, 44; 697, 233 (note 57);  
748, 81; 750-51, 224 (note  
41); 763, 81; 774-75, 257;  
789-90, 222; 835, 621 (note  
15); 844, 212 (note 13); 884,  
40; 885, 69, 70; 921, 79; 950-  
51, 252 (note); 954-55, 212,  
213 (note 13); 958-59, 79,  
212; 962, 40; 965-66, 212, 213  
(note 13); 1051, 83, 234;  
1053-54, 82, 84 (note 40);  
1059-60, 92; 1081-82, 210;  
1085, 221; 1087-89, 235; 1101,  
245 (note 82); 1123-24, 253;  
1139, 213 (note 13); 1144,

## Index.

- 245 (note 82); 1147, 245 (note 83); 1158, 212; 1184, 36; 1185, 40, 67, 70; 1187, 86;  
 —Truculentus, v. 6, 90; 66, 38; 72, 210; 83-85, 208 (note); 140, 62; 203, 208; 234, 85; 287-88, 211, 225; 293, 245 (note 82); 315, 42, 69, 70; 344-45, 224 (note 38); 346, 224 (note 38); 355, 244, 245 (note 83); 391-92, 208; 405-06, 247; 461-62, 82; 527, 40, 69, 70; 591, 233 (note 57); 613, 38; 615, 38, 39; 661-62, 249; 692-93, 77 (note); 766, 91, 92 (note), 94 (note 51); 815, 43; 826-27, 246; 830, 52; 833, 38; 854, 38, 68 (note 23); 877, 38, 67;  
 —Vidularia, v. 56-57, 78, 80 (note); 68, 77; 106, 44.  
 Polystratos, archon, date of, 157.  
 Πολύτερος Σουνιεύς, priest of Asklepios, 146.  
 Posse (potis), in apodosis, 53.  
 Pratinas of Athens, 10.  
 Prescott, H. W., Some Phases of the Relation of Thought to Verse in Plautus, 205-262.  
 Present subjunctive, versus future indicative, 87.  
 Ptolemais, creation of, 158.  
 Ptolemais, given secretaryship irregularly, 143.  
 Pure conditional sentences, 50-66.  
 Quid si, 89.  
 Richardson, L. J., Horace's Alcaic Strophe, 175-204.  
 Sanskrit, 95.  
 Sappho, 2, 9.  
 Sappho, digamma in, 2.  
 Schlegel, Friedr., influence on language study, 95.  
 Science of language, 95.  
 Secretaries, Athenian, demes of, chronological list, 131.  
 Secretaries to the Treasury-board of Athena, 145.  
 Serapis, priests of, 139.  
 Short quantities, at the outset of Horace's eleven-syllable and nine-syllable Alcaic verses, 203.  
 Si (concessive), 37-42.  
 Si-clauses, loosely attached, 85-86.  
 Si object clauses, 75.  
 Simonides of Ceos, 9.  
 Sophronistai, abolished, 166.  
 Stesichorus of Himera, 10.  
 Subjunctive protasis, with indicative apodosis in Plautus, 50.  
 Tamen etsi, 46.  
 Tamensi, 46.  
 Tametsi, 44-45.  
 Τεισιās Κεφαλῆθεν, priest of Asklepios, 146.  
 Τεισιās φλυ(εύς), priest of Asklepios, 146.  
 Telokles, archon, date of, 152.  
 Ten-syllable Alcaic (Horace), 189.  
 Terence, Adelphi, v. 46, 259 (note); 48, 239 (note 70); 52-53, 256 (note 110); 85, 257 (note); 229, 258 (note 114); 274-75, 239; 657-58, 255 (note 107); 716-17, 255 (note 108); 761, 42 (note 6); 891-92, 236;  
 —Andria, v. 35, 239 (note 70); 77, 258 (note 114); 80-81, 245; 639, 51; 667, 258 (note 114); 778-79, 256 (note 110);  
 —Eunuchus, v. 88, 257 (note); 108-09, 238; 155-56, 239 (note 70); 332, 259 (note); 357, 224 (note 41); 524-25, 239; 532-33, 235, 236; 857, 220 (note 30); 1032, 258 (note 114);  
 —Heauton Timorumenos, v. 711-12, 247 (note 87).  
 Terence, Hecyra, v. 58, 258 (note 114); 85-86, 226 (note); 365-66, 256 (note 110); 715, 51 (note 3);  
 —Phormio, v. 312, 258 (note 114); 447, 51 (note 3); 638, 259 (note); 736-37, 51; 938, 221; 940, 221.  
 Terpander, 10.  
 Thersilochos, archon, date of, 155.  
 Θουγένης, priest of Asklepios, 149, 169.  
 Timocreon, 34.  
 Τιμοκλῆς Είτειαός, priest of Asklepios, 149, 169.  
 Timotheus, 9.  
 Treasurers of Athena, secretaries of, 131.  
 Urios, archon, date of, 152.  
 Wheeler, B. I., The Whence and Whither of the Modern Science of Language, 95-109.  
 Word analysis, 100.  
 Zeno, death of, 154.  
 Zeus Soter, duplication of cult, 156.  
 [Ζωίλος] Νικοκράτου φλυεύς, priest of Asklepios, 168.











~~DOES NOT CIRCULATE~~

**STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY**  
Stanford, California

FEB 5 '68



PRINTED IN



